THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY
GUARDIAN

Vol. 3, No. 8 San Francisco An Independent newspaper of events, analysis and opinion September 30, 1969 25¢

PG&E
a silent triumph over charter revision
pg 1,2,3

AND:

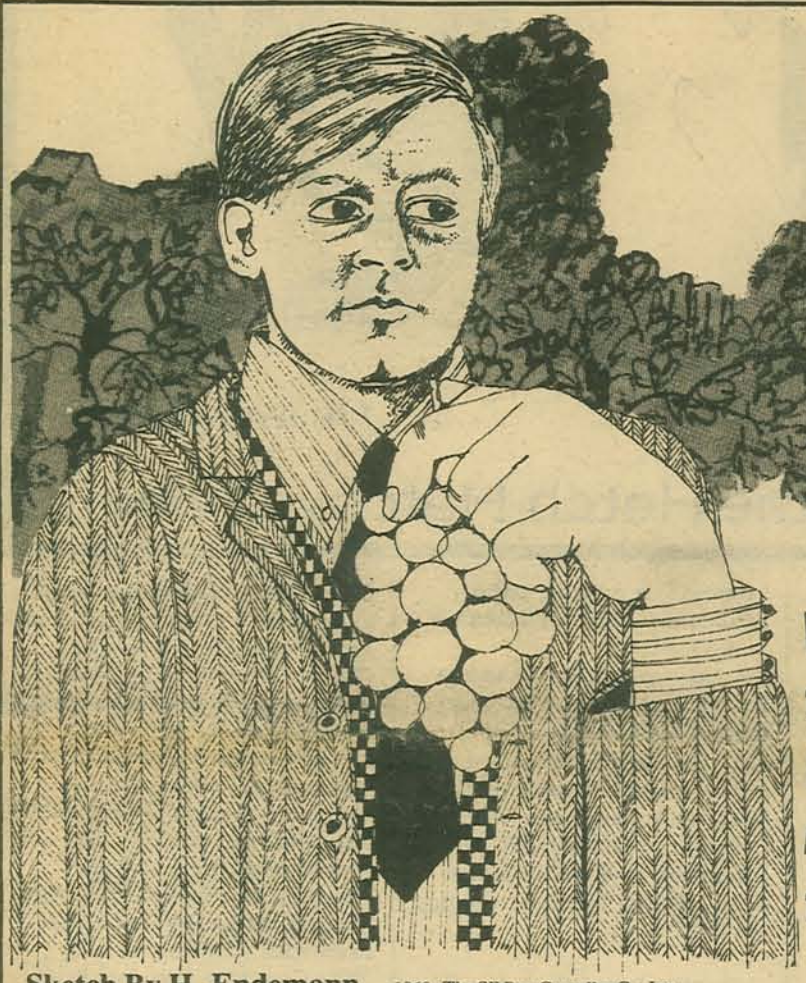
The PUC pg 5
On Guard pg 16
Rexroth's Mafia pg 4
Rolfe Peterson's 'Hair' pg 12
The poor pay more pg 15
Movies pg 13
Joel Fort pg 4

San Francisco "Going, going . . ."
What Trans-America will do to our skyline pg 8,9

Bill Anderson, Back home in the Adirondacks pg 10

Joe said it ain't so, but . . .
Behind the Alioto/Mafia story Pg 4

Sacramento's lobbyists -
Their year in review pg 5



Sketch By H. Endemann 1969 The SF Bay GuardianCo, Inc.

Behind the growers' drive to discredit the grape boycott

Whitaker & Baxter's public relations strategy: a Britisher in the Delano vineyards, a 'consumer rights' front and a whistle-stop tour of the country's city desks

By Robert Jones

1969 The SF Bay Guardian Co, Inc.

Inside Filipino Hall in Delano, where Cesar Chavez' grape workers union holds local rallies, a woman motioned to a spot near the rear of the empty auditorium: "Yah, right about there. He came in at a meeting and stood in the back. He dressed funny, you know. Dark suit with a vest and a high collar that came up on his neck. I asked who he was but no one knew. Later on, I found out he was the man from San Francisco who makes bad news for the strikers."

Delano is a small and average farm town with little to distinguish it from a dozen others. The smog hangs over the valley in the summer heat and an occasional wind sifts alkali dust over the vineyards.

The people of Delano respect the land and weather in a way that city people do not. They mark the seasons, their credit system, and, until recently, their children's education by the planting and harvest. Table grapes are still grown and picked by hand, for they are among the most perishable and easily damaged foods, and mechanization has affected Delano very little. The demand for grape workers and the labor problems that accompany them have remained the same for many years.

When Cesar Chavez led the first strike in Delano four years ago he attacked not only the wage structure but the whole set of relationships between grower and worker.

Since February, with the Chavez strike in its fifth yea

—continued on page 7

Make the City Charter modern, efficient even,

but don't ruffle PG&E

By Peter L. Petrakis

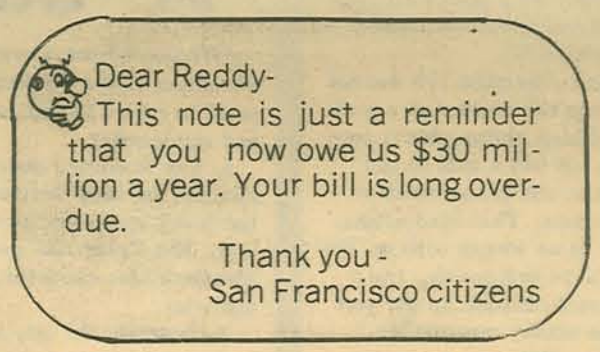
1969 The SF Bay Guardian Co, Inc.

For the first time in 38 years, San Francisco had the chance to change its city charter and set up the legal machinery to establish a municipal power distribution system and stop the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. from swindling the city out of $30 million a year in hydroelectric power.

Instead, the Charter Revision Committee blew the opportunity and put forward charter revision proposals that would make it difficult, if not impossible, to buy out PG&E and establish a city power system as required under historic mandates from the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Supreme Court and the city charter itself.

The result: San Francisco businesses and residences will continue to lose the benefits of low cost public power produced by the city's Hetch Hetchy water and power complex in the Sierra. They will continue to pay through the nose to PG&E. PG&E's dominance remains undisturbed in San Francisco.

The background of this historic power grab is long and complex. It was outlined at length for the first time by Prof. J. B. Nielands in the Mar. 27 Guardian and in the brief chronology on page 3 of this issue.



But the major points are simple. The city charter, since 1898, commits San Francisco to "gradually" acquire and "ultimately" own its own power system.

The U.S. Congress, in the famous Raker Act of 1912, granted San Francisco an unprecedented concession to dam a beautiful valley (Hetch Hetchy) in a beautiful national park (Yosemite) to get water for a thirsty city. The condition: that the city produce cheap public power, that it build a municipal power system to distribute the power and that it allow absolutely no resale or transfer of power to private utilities such as PG&E. The Raker Act then was considered the Magna Carta of public power.

San Francisco has produced public water and public power, but PG&E for four decades has kept this public power from reaching San Francisco. The private utility has reaped millions and millions of dollars by, in effect, selling the city its own power.

The 1969 charter committee could have tackled this sorry scandal. It could have set up specific legal steps to enforce the Raker Act and the charter's utility acquisition provisions, "gradually" buy out PG&E and distribute the city's own power in San Francisco. Instead, the committee:

1. Deferred for two years the whole question of public power in Section 119. Tom Caylor, of the powerful Chamber of Commerce, said, "We have no obligation to recommend continuation of any policy; we are interested in Balkanizing the public utilities and getting them into manageable form."

2. Decided to Balkanize public utilities by abolishing the city's Public Utilities Commission and dividing the commission's specific utility operations among other agencies.

3. Deprived all city utilities of their historic charter protection.

4. Separated the water and power departments, making it difficult if not impossible to acquire the integrated hydroelectric system as required by the charter and the Raker Act. Assigned the administration of the Sierra Hetch Hetchy complex and the city water department to a new agency (Environmental Resources Agency) and, at the same time, cast its critical power component, the Bureau of Light, Heat and Power, to the political whims of the

—continued on page 2

U.S. POSTAGE
BULK RATE
PAID
Permit No. 8879
San Francisco, Calif.

The Charter Board-- afraid to enforce the . . .

HETCH HETCHY: Means "to confuse and confound the public by adroit acts and deceptive words in order to turn to private corporate profit a trust set up for the people," as Interior Secretary Harold Ickes told the Commonwealth Club in 1941.

BALKANIZE: Means, according to Webster's Third International, "to break up into smaller, ineffectual and frequently competitive units."

—continued from page 1

supervisors under a vague reorganization plan.

The Bureau now delivers Hetch Hetchy power for strictly municipal purposes, but could be expanded to gradually displace PG&E under urban renewal.

This plan to displace PG&E--by authorizing the Bureau of Light, Heat and Power to install its own lines in federal renewal areas or those getting federal money--has evolved after a strong PG&E newspaper combination defeated eight bond issues to buy out PG&E.

Gradual displacement would require no large bond issues, could be financed by urban renewal grants and could be enforced through federal law. It would be less susceptible to the PG&E/Ex/Chron juggernaut.

But this method would need specific charter requirements well within the committee's power to supply: 1) continued stability for public utilities by preserving their charter status; 2) assignment of the Bureau of Light, Heat and Power as the intended distributor of Hetch Hetchy electricity and 3) placement of this bureau in the new Environmental Resources Agency (or in a preserved PUC) alongside the Hetch Hetchy project and the Water Department.

Instead of making these provisions for gradually displacing PG&E, the Committee sabotaged the city's charter and Raker Act public power commitments, all the while insisting that it was deferring "policy" for two years.

Once this decision was made, the Chairman became "very tough minded" and allowed "no pet packages" to be introduced, according to one committee member. It is doubtful, then, that even if a member had wanted to bring up the Raker Act he could have gotten it past Chairman Frankel.

What would happen to Section 119 when the committee got around to it in 1971? It is questionable, Staff Director George Williams replied, whether such a statement belongs in a city charter.

I asked several committee members if the Raker Act came up in committee deliberations and got bewildering answers:

Atty. William Porter: "We all knew a problem exists on the Raker Act. There are several lawyers on the Committee who know a great deal about it."

J. Bradley Bunnin (staff counsel): "The Committee did a fair amount of research on the Raker Act."

Atty. James Frankel (committee chairman): "I'm vaguely familiar with the Raker Act from reading the Guardian. The Committee never gave a second's thought to it."

George Williams: "No, the Raker Act never came up."

Thomas Caylor: "I think PG&E is doing an outstanding job. When we get to Section 119, I'm going to do everything I can to remove it from the charter. I don't believe in universal imperatives. The city should be able to pick and choose what it wants to acquire."

Wouldn't it have been more logical to decide policy in Section 119, then deal with the city's utilities?

Williams: "The order of business in this respect is not crucial because of the Committee's neutral position on the question of public versus private ownership."

Frankel: "Don't get me to say we have a policy on public versus private ownership of utilties."

Caylor: "Section 119 was not put into the charter as a matter of high philosophical purpose. It was a tool to get utilities out of the hands of exploiters. That kind of banditry is no longer with us. We now have safeguards, and a different attitude on the part of the utility monopolies."

Porter: "Who are you going to get to pay for billboards? Can't you just see the president of PG&E calling his banker friends and people like Dauer (William Dauer, head of the Chamber of Commerce) and saying, 'Don't support those Reds'?"

Bunnin: "Putting Section 119 into the third year was based on a literal reading of the Supervisors' resolution."

Result: The Committee created policy to justify changes in non-utility areas, but had to be "neutral" on existing utility policy because it wasn't the time to deal with it.

Supervisors set this schedule for the Committee: first year, structure and organization of city government; second year, city personnel matters; third year, everything else. The Committee decided that meant reorganizing utilities the first year, dealing with utility policy the third year.

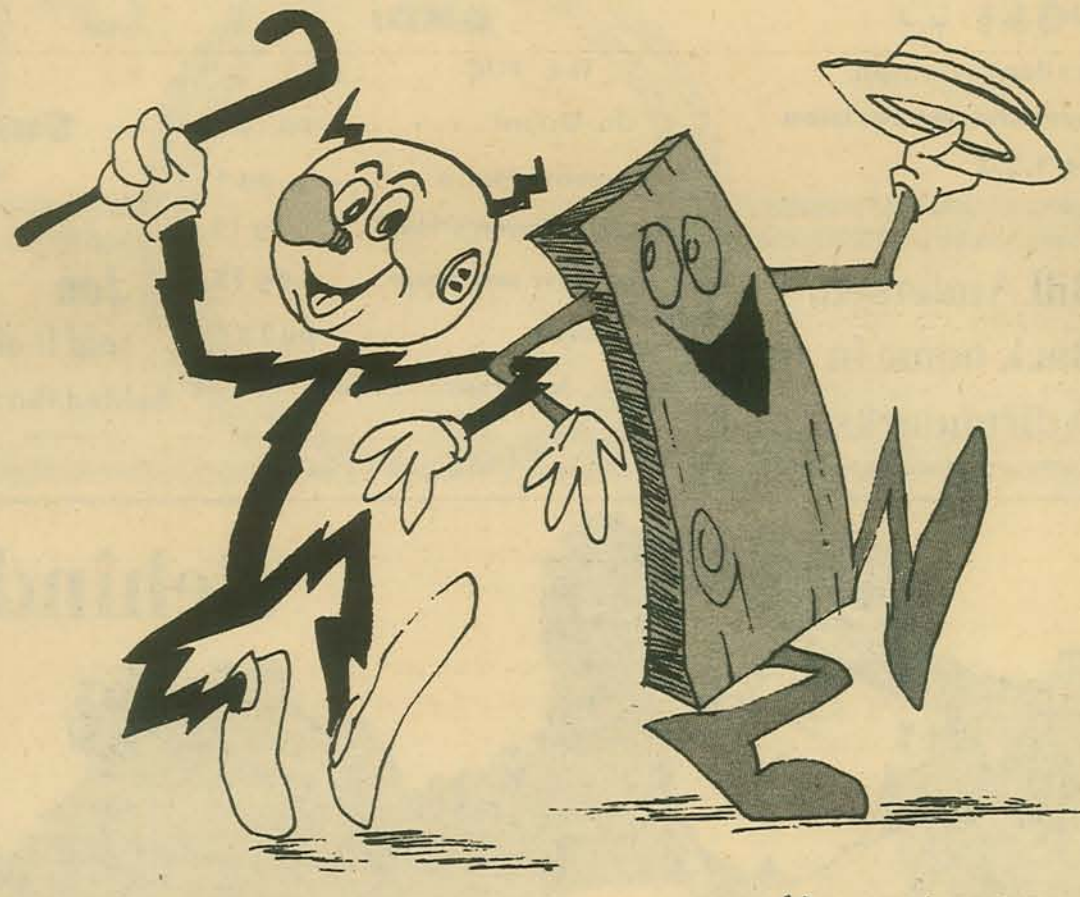
On other issues, the Committee acted with dispatch. In its concern for human rights, it sought to establish a Human Rights Commission with charter (not ordinance) status. In its concern for amenities, it wanted a more independent Planning Commission. Recognizing the alienation of citizens, it created an ombudsman's office with charter status. Sensing weakness in the mayor's office, it decided to strengthen it. And so on.

This was the approach: conduct a study, evolve policy, and make changes in accordance with that policy. But when I asked Staff Director Williams why Section 119 wasn't adopted before the Committee dealt with utilities, he said, "The Committee was not instructed to make policy for the city."

Frankel reassures, "This year's work doesn't affect 119." The problem is that Section 119 did not affect this year's work.

—continued to page 3

Reddy says to the Charter Board



©1969 The SF Bay GuardianCo, Inc.

WILLIAM WIGGLY JR.

"you dance the Hetch-Hetchy divinely"

A "Sexy" Issue

"We don't have a sexy issue," lamented Atty. James Frankel, chairman of the Charter Revision Committee. How about a proposal to save $30 million a year for San Francisco businesses and residences?

1. San Francisco owns a great hydroelectric system at Hetch Hetchy, on land donated by the federal government, to supply the city's water and power needs.

2. The Raker Act and the city charter commit the city to distribute this electricity directly to San Francisco and its city agencies.

3. Instead, the city sells most of that electricity to the Turlock and Modesto Irrigation Districts in the Central Valley.

4. A smaller part of that power is wheeled over city lines to Newark in the East Bay. There it enters a PG&E toll gate, which carries the city's electricity to San Francisco at a fee of several million dollars a year. However, this electricity does not go to private consumers. It goes to municipal services, mainly to the Municipal Railway.

5. The irrigation districts that buy the bulk of the Hetch Hetchy power turn around and illegally sell a comparable amount to PG&E. (See Mar. 27 Guardian.)

6. PG&E sells this SF electricity to its private customers, including those in SF, as Reddy Kilowatt's own product. In reality, it once belonged to the people who are buying it. PG&E is selling San Francisco its own electricity, at PG&E's profit.

7. PG&E also sells some of "its" electricity to the Municipal Railway, to supplement the part labeled "city-owned" that enters the city through PG&E's toll gate.

8. Thus, PG&E brings the city all electricity in two packages, one labeled "PG&E," the other labeled "City," but the main contents of both packages come ultimately from the city's power plant at Hetch Hetchy. The profit of both goes to PG&E.

9. According to Prof. J.B. Neilands, San Francisco loses $30 million annually by not having a publicly owned system to distribute its own electricity.

Support Guardian Advertisers



Market Street Answering Service

• Telephone Answering Service
• Desk & Office Rentals
XEROX, DUPLICATING, MIMEOGRAPHING, ELEC. STENCIL CUTTING:
• Clippings • Typing
• Drawings • Letterheads
• Halftones • Forms
• Charts • Bulletins
LEE WATSON
Office Manager
2166 Market St.
S.F. 863-2600

"Will" Forms

FOUR "WILL" Forms & 64 page book on WILLS. Plus "Guide to Wills." Written by Calif. Atty. Cyrus A. Davis. Complete $1. Guaranteed. NATIONAL FORMS, Box 48313 - CG, Los Angeles, Calif. 90048

HAVE YOU EVER TRIED THE FINEST?
MEADERS CLEANERS
SAN FRANCISCO – GEARY AT STEINER – 922-3300
SAN MATEO DRIVE – BET. STATE & VILLA TER – DI 2-6341
PALO ALTO – TOWN AND COUNTRY VILLAGE – DA 6-5130

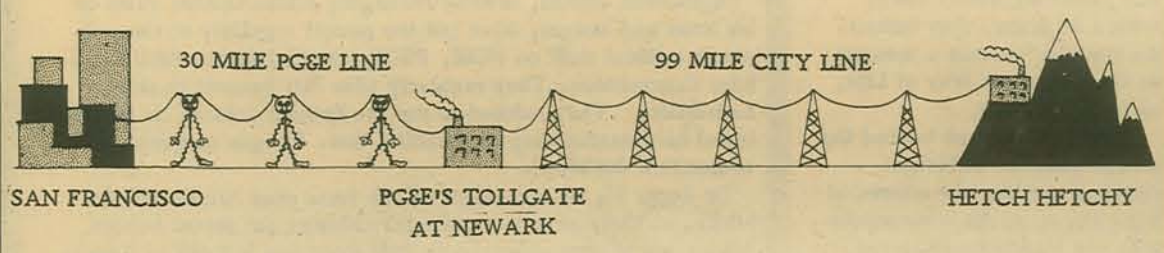


Re-elect Supervisor Jack Morrison

A Paid Political Advertisement

JOHN V. McELHENEY
Insurance Broker
841-5886
2140 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, Ca. 94704

. . . Raker Act and bring cheap public power to San Francisco



Principles of charter revision, cited by the 1969 Charter Revision Committee.

- **"The City and its residents lose substantial savings which could result from timely use of modern techniques of government."**
- **"The main function of city government is to serve the people of San Francisco."**
- **"The operating departments should be organized to permit effective, efficient, economical and responsive City management."**
- **"The basic system of safeguards which has protected San Francisco against major graft and corruption should be retained and strengthened."**

This is our final notice — your bill is long overdue

Dear Reddy —

Your services are subject to discontinuance if payment in full is not made within 5 days.

Please do not compel us to shut off your services for non-payment. Won't you please pay your bill right away?

Thank you,
San Francisco citizens

— continued from page 2

All this is nonense. When the Committee juggles utilities, then says it has "no policy" or a "neutral" policy on the Raker Act and Section 119, it might as well declare its utility policy straight away: "Ignore the Raker Act and don't interfere with PG&E's illegal monopoly."

During my interviews, I was given these explanations why the Committee didn't take on PG&E and the Raker Act:

"Isolate the hot potatoes... keep down controversy...we can't afford the opposition of PG&E and the Chamber of Commerce types...nowadays, you need $50,000 to elect a dog catcher in this city... we're going to need all the friends we can get...a billboard costs $3,000...it would be a silly criticism of the Committee to raise the Raker Act at this time."

Clearly, the Committee doesn't want to take on a new and powerful political opponent, PG&E. Neither does it want to jeopardize a potentially lucrative source of campaign revenue—PG&E and its business allies.

Already, a large anticipated source of campaign money, from the Chamber of Commerce, won't materialize because of the Chamber's strong opposition ("it's a double cross," one Committee member said)--for reasons that have nothing to do with utilities. Labor unions and much of the city hall bureaucracy are also cool for their own parochial reasons.

Charter revision, Frankel said philosophically, "is not a sexy issue."

San Francisco is desperately short of money. Its residents and businesses this year will pay a crushing 20 per cent more in city property taxes. Question: wouldn't a good sexy issue be cheaper power for industry, lower light and heat bills for homeowners and businesses, a massive tax subsidy for socially beneficial city programs and a saving of $30 million a year for the city and its constituency?

Alger Jacobs, manager of Wells Fargo's investment portfolio, had little to say about public utility acquisition. As I tried to bear down on Section 119 questions, he said: "I hate to be a dog, but I have to break off the interview or I'll miss my ride home."

Then he added wryly, "And I'd have to use public transportation."

THE END

DATAB
BUSINESS MACHINES

Rental of IBM data processing machines at reduced rates

2170 Staunton Court Palo Alto 327-9225

HELP!



Save the City of San Francisco trains

WHEN:

October 6-10, 1969, 9:30 a.m.

WHERE:

U.S. Post Office, Room 260
7th and Mission Sts., San Francisco

WHY:

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers asks you to come testify against Southern Pacific's appeal before the ICC to discontinue passenger service on lines 101, 102

A Paid Political Advertisement

How to Hetch-Hetchy the city charter

1897 James D. Phelan runs for mayor of San Francisco on a platform of public ownership of all public utilities. Phelan explains in the Overland Monthly:

"Supervisors and Aldermen, in this city it is common report, betray the interests they are supposed to guard, and the officers of the corporations uphold the interests of those they are paid to serve. The see-saw of corruption will continue so long as public utilities are in the hands of private owners. Would it not be wise statesmanship to destroy corruption, increase efficiency and lower cost at one blow? We may come to that and hence we want a charter that will enable us to assume new duties and responsibilities in line with modern progress."

Elected Mayor, Phelan appoints a Committee of One Hundred to frame a new charter.

1898 The voters, weary of corruption by private utilities, approve the charter. A section reads:

"It is the declared purpose and intention of the people of the city and county that public utilities shall be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the city and county."

The charter also includes provisions for voters to override pro-private utility supervisors by initiating acquisition of a private utility on petition by 15 per cent of the voters.

1900 Under the new charter, the city initiates moves to acquire a public water and power system. The Examiner, noting anticipated savings from city budget cuts, urges investment of these savings in a city-owned lighting plant. It recommends buying out the San Francisco Gas and Electric Company, PG&E's predecessor. Mayor Phelan files for city water rights along the Tuolumne River, using money out of his own pocket.

1912 Supervisors publish a large, glossy book showing that the proposed works would beautify Hetch Hetchy and make cheap water and power available to San Francisco.

1913 Congress passes the Raker Act (HR 7207) granting water and power rights to the city and county of San Francisco. The city is strictly prohibited from transferring water and power from Hetch Hetchy to private utilities like PG&E.

The two key sections: Section 6:

"That the grantee is prohibited from ever selling or letting to any corporation or individual, except a municipality or municipal water district or irrigation district, the right to sell or sublet the water or the electric energy sold or given to it or him by the said grantee: Provided, that the rights hereby granted shall not be sold, assigned, or transferred to any private person, corporation, or association, and in case of any attempt to so sell, assign, transfer, or convey, this grant shall revert to the Government of the United States."

Section 9 outlines enforcement procedures:

"...the grantee shall at all times comply with and observe on its part all the conditions specified in this Act, and in the event that the same are not resonably complied with the carried out by the grantee, upon written request of the Secretary of the Interior, it is made the duty of the Attorney General in the name of the United States to commence all necessary suits or proceedings in the proper court having jurisdiction thereof..."

1925 San Francisco builds a great powerhouse on Moccasin Creek in the low Sierra and begins laying the transmission line to the city. Just as the line conveniently reaches PG&E's substation in Newark, 40 miles from San Francisco, City Hall announces construction funds are exhausted. PG&E inveigles SF to put up a PG&E tollgate in Newark, buys the city's power cheap, then jacks up the rate for wheeling it the remaining 40 miles to SF consumers.

1927 The first of eight bond issues is proposed to create a SF municipal power system as required by the Raker Act. PG&E, its powerful political allies and the newspapers manage, narrowly, to defeat the bonds.

1932 San Francisco prepares a new charter (the present one), retaining the old public utilities policy (see 1898), but inserting the words, "when public interest and necessity demands."

1937 Interior Secretary Harold Ickes files suit in federal court, charging San Francisco with violating power provisions in Sec. 6 of the Raker Act. A key government argument:

"... the grant to the City was made upon the mandatory condition that this power be sold solely and exclusively by the City directly to consumers and without private profit in order to bring it into direct competition with adjacent privately owned utilities..."

1938 Federal court rules in favor of Ickes' case; the city appeals.

1939 Circuit Court of Appeals reverses the District Court. The Circuit Court recognizes the charter's utility policy as committing the city to "a general policy of public ownership of all public utilities" carried forward as a footnote in the current charter. The government appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court.

1940 Supreme Court upholds the government, makes liberal reference to the original Raker Act debate.

"From the Congressional debates on the passage of the Raker Act can be read a common understanding both on the part of sponsors of the Bill and its opponents that the grant was to be so conditioned as to require municipal performance of the function of supplying Hetch Hetchy water and electric power directly to the ultimate consumers..."

1942 Frank Havenner, former supervisor (later congressman), informs Congress that PG&E's expenditures on the defeat of bond issues were officially reported as approximately $200,000, but probably amounted to much more. Referring to the dereliction of city officials, he added:

"They ignored the elaborate pledge of ultimate municipal distribution of the power... Ignored also is the language of Section 119 of the San Francisco City Charter.

1944 Ickes coins the phrase "to Hetch Hetchy" in a Commonwealth Club speech. It means "to confuse and confound the public by adroit acts and deceptive word in order to turn to private corporate profit a trust set up for the people."

1955 Rep. Engle introduces a bill to create a new irigation district on the Tuolumne River. In the hearings, Engle proves that Hetch Hetchy power sold to Turlock & Modesto Irrigation districts was resold to PG&E in violation of a 1945 proviso by Ickes. City Atty. Dion Holm agrees Raker Act requires a municipal system and says "...we are minus that for the time being, which one day we will have."

1967 Supervisors pass a resolution directing the mayor to create a Charter Revision Committee and appoint members to it.

1969 Charter Revision Committee defers action on "policy" of utility acquisition for two years, yet subverts the "policy" with major changes in the utility departments.

'Eyes they have and see not, Ears they have and hear not'

There are limits to what a small, impoverished, crusading newspaper can do. On the other hand, publications that can afford $12 million libel suits are intrinsically unlikely to attack the "fountainhead of corruption." This term was used during the Atherton investigation into the organized crime, rather the vice, of a prominent retail merchant fingered as the Big Boss.

Of course, everybody in the know in those days (the dear dead days when reporters on the City Hall beat did not believe everything they read on the editorial pages, least of all on Ed. 2) knew that the worthy doctor was just taking the rap for the invisible men behind him, one of them the president of a bank who ruled San Francisco as a privately owned principality like Monaco or Lichtenstein.

In those days, the police department was run by a conspiratorial organization far tighter than any revolutionary cell, named, appropriately enough, the Iron Ring--the same name as the Mafia-like Circolo di Ferro which ran Naples from archbishop to street sweeper and rug girl.

The Iron Ring run things with an iron hand. Patrolmen were the bag men and they never permitted any rowdyism or monkey business. The city was wide open and clean.

Neo-Geopolitics

Today the heads of the Greek Syndicate are billionaires, entrepreneurs in geopolitics. They can demand from the top of the power structure armed interventions, economic subsidies, all but the very highest offices and marriages like those the Mongol Khans obtained from the Emperors of China.

Time Magazine, which certainly ought to know, says that the Mafia is richer and more powerful than all of America's largest corporations put together.

Gee, I can remember when these hoods used to wear earrings, smell of garlic, take off their shoes to count to 20 and toss pineapples at one another across the corners of Oak and Orleans Streets in Chicago. Bring back, oh, bring back, the gentle days of Joey Aiello!

Whatever the results of pending libel suits, anybody with eyes to see and ears to hear knows San Francisco is in the grip of The Organization. As the second leading pleasure city outside of Nevada, San Francisco is ruled and is being destroyed by the people who run the pleasure cities of the world, from Macao to the Argentine.

KENNETH REXROTH

The Chief of Police says there is no evidence whatever of organized vice in San Francisco. I have always thought he had all the characteristics of a Philistine deity: "Eyes they have and see not; ears they have and hear not, feet have they and do not run about;" their oracular statements are manufactured by wind machines.

Never believe that the fall guys, the Greasy Thumb Guziks and baggy-eyed, baggy-bellied, elderly hoods rounded up in a raid in the woods, are the boys that run things. If Time is right, the Mafia is the largest business enterprise in the world. The Lescaze case and the Montessi case proved 10 years ago that it controlled the Italian and French governments and the Vatican.

One of the first and largest conglomerates, whose oil interests alone have kept parts of North Africa and the southern Arabian peninsula in a state of civil war for years, is the first square business enterprise of The Organization. Today this little empire is one of its smaller interests.

Think back. Do you remember that the bulk of the American press and the leading news weeklies were pro-Castro until he shut down the whorehouses and gambling halls? Then, within 48 hours, they turned on him; he became a menace to the American Way of Life, as indeed he was.

The faceless men behind the smack peddlers of Haight-Ashbury and the boy whores of Ellis Street are the same people who are Manhattanizing San Francisco with high-rise monstrosities and reducing the most beautiful suburban landscapes in the world to slums of built-in obsolescence at 12 per cent interest.

I don't know how the Berkeley rent strike will come off. At last, the movement is beginning to find its enemy: The NAACP, under the leadership of Herb Hill, has launched an attack on the incredibly corrupt and insanely racist building trades unions. If student rebels strike at the great corporations, which have taken over from the old tea-drinking, curl-papered, poodle-petting landladies, the Big Business of student housing, they will have come face to face with The Enemy.

Notoriously, The Organization owns one of the largest of these real estate outfits, and this is not the only country in which it operates such enterprises.

You would assume that the totalitarian states within the Iron Curtain would be invulnerable to Our Boys. More and more of them are initiating Yugoslavia's immensely profitable pleasure cities on the Dalmatian coast. There, joy seekers of the bourgeois West are as carefully isolated as the monkey islands in zoos.

Do you realize that many of these enterprises are leased, not operated, by the state? Whom are they leased to? You guessed it.

THE END

Indeed, 18-year-olds are old enough to vote

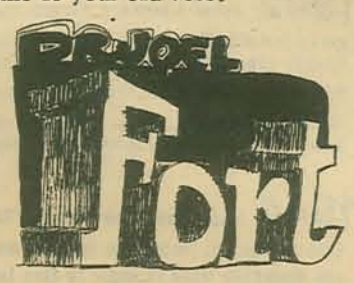
A proposal to lower the minimum voting age to 18 is now under consideration by the Legislature's Assembly Committee on Elections and Constitutional Amendments. An alternative proposal, by the Constitutional Revision Commission, would lower the voting age to 19.

We must convince our legislators to approve the 18 year old vote. If we cannot marshall the necessary 2/3 majority in the Assembly, we must initiate the bill on the 1970 ballot.

American youth should be guaranteed full rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Morally and legally, young adults have a right to vote. The constitution's one man-one vote principle requires it.

Further: 12 million alienated young Americans need their sense of political participation bolstered. To narrow the generation gap, we must end the dependency and immaturity fostered in our young people by the high voting age.

A lower age requirement would be not only socially beneficial, but politically expedient as well. Eighteen to 20 year old activists could supplement regular party staffs. Revitalizing our bureaucracies depends on the 18 year old vote.



Twenty-one is an arbitrary and irrational cut-off point, deriving from the middle ages, when those under 21 were forbidden to wear armor or hold a sword.

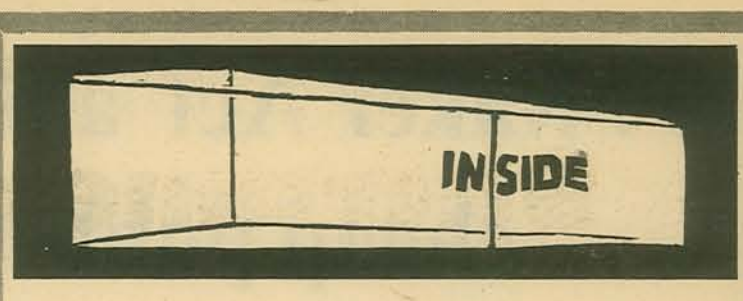
Today's young Americans, black and white, presently deprived like other minorities of their birthright, are as capable as their elders of voting. They are as mature, responsible and biologically fit; they often have more political savvy and formal education. Fifty-three per cent have been graduated from high school, compared to 14 per cent in 1940, and 9 per cent from college, compared to 5 per cent in 1940.

In most states, 18 year olds can marry and support a family, pay taxes, sign contracts and be sued, buy insurance and file a will, become a civil servant, own and drive a car, buy alcohol and tobacco, be tried in adult courts and sent to prison, carry a firearm and fight in the army.

But only Georgia (voting age 18), Kentucky (18), Alaska (19) and Hawaii (20) have low voting age requirements. Despite many politicians' public support, innumerable bills and constitutional amendments lowering the voting age in other states have died in committee.

Government needs the idealism and sense of urgency of the young. Many politicians who would maintain the present voting age requirement may well be too old to hold power.

THE END



Veteran connoisseurs of editorial vicissitudes at Superchron have long zeroed in on the editing of Drew Pearson/Jack Anderson in the Washington Merry-go-round. Often, it's a tip-off to corporate positions which may not be so evident in news and editorial columns.

Superchron editors, usually Managing Editor Gordon Pates or his heirs and assigns, have put the pencil regularly to the column's critical stuff on PG&E, PT&T, the California Public Utilities Commission. They regularly trim Bill Bennett to size or invisibility. They refused to run the famous column on the alleged homosexual ring surrounding Gov. Reagan (arguably, a reasonable decision).

On Sept. 15, at the height of the furor over Alioto and the Mafia, as their news and editorial columns put steam behind Alioto and whitewash on Look, this story was left out of Anderson's column:

> San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto's alleged associations with the Mafia, the subject of a Look magazine expose, was reported to Hubert Humphrey by the FBI before the 1968 Democratic convention.
>
> This column reported immediately after the convention that Humphrey had considered Alioto, an Italian-American, as his running mate instead of Senator Edmund Muskie, a Polish-American, "because of the larger Italian population."
>
> "However," the column continues, "Alioto has acted as attorney for Mafia leaders, so, while every man has the right to a lawyer, politics being what it is, Alioto had to be crossed off."
>
> This column has now obtained a copy of Humphrey's confidential report on Alioto which explains why the dynamic San Francisco Mayor came so close to becoming the Democratic candidate for vice president.
>
> "This is an extremely capable and vital man with a decided capacity for growth," the confidential report to Humphrey said of Alioto. "His popularity could help in California. He communicates dedication, decisiveness.
>
> "Futhermore, based on the 1960 census, there are 24 states in which the Italian-American population (the largest nationality vote in the United States) is greater than 10,000 (357 electoral votes).
>
> "In the 12 crucial industrial states representing 243 electoral votes, the Italian population goes from 1.5% in Michigan to 2.5% in Illinois, 4.5% in Pennsylvania, 6% in Massachusetts, 9.3% in New Jersey and 14.9% in New York.
>
> "Taking the 1960 vote, we find 1.4 million Italian voters in New York and a Democratic vote lead of 383,000; a 525,000 Italian vote in New Jersey with a narrow election margin of 22,000; 509,000 Italian voters in Pennsylvania and a margin of 116,000; and in California 350,000 Italian voters and a Republican margin of 35,000."
>
> The memo acknowledged that Alioto "is not known outside of California and among Italians." But it was the FBI warning about his alleged Mafia law clients that kept him off the Democratic ticket.

● ● ●

This story was published in Anderson's regular column in the San Mateo Times, as well as other regular Anderson papers the Guardian was able to check before press time. Why didn't Superchron print it?

"I read that damn thing and it carries several libelous statements," Pates told The Guardian in admitting he personally deleted the story. How could other papers carry the column? "It's libelous as hell...and I'm not about to go for that."

What about Anderson's statement he was quoting an FBI report? Pates said Anderson provided no supporting documents and added that, in the past, Anderson/Pearson often couldn't come up with documents on similarly explosive charges.

Did he check the story with Cooper, White and Cooper (the Chronicle's law firm, now also retained by Look in its Alioto libel defense)? "Hell, no..They didn't even know about it."

Did he try to independently check Anderson's report? "I don't need information. I'd better be able to back it up."

Didn't the long Chronicle investigation of Alioto, undertaken for months by reporters Bill Thomas and Charles Raudebaugh, produce any information? Why hasn't the Chronicle published the results of the Thomas/Raudebaugh investigation or reacted publicly to Alioto's statements that the investigation cleared him? "I won't go into that."

Was the Chronicle going to independently check Look's charges? "I won't go into that."

● ● ●

Lots of interesting details remain unexplored in Look's article. Par examplia: the estate of Emilio Giorgetti, a "deceased millionaire Mafia gambler, hoodlum and political corrupter" Look linked with Alioto.

The cash value of his estate was $2,006,727, according to San Mateo County probate records. Atty. Joseph Alioto was paid $23,947 "as payment in full of his statutory fees for his services rendered in the administration of this estate.." according to the final order and judgment of April 5, 1965.

● ● ●

Incidental intelligence: To the surprise of the local broadcast industry, neither the Chronicle nor the Examiner published the story that the Chronicle is seeking to disqualify FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson in the KRON license renewal case. It was the Aug. 25 lead story in Broadcast Magazine. The New Republic soon will carry a story on the KRON fracas.

An insurance victory, but otherwise some telling defeats for

Sacramento's Lobbyists

By Tiffin Patrick

SACRAMENTO--The insurance lobby scored another of its frequent anti-consumer coups in the Legislature during the final week of the 1959 session.

While the attention of consumer lobbyists, Senate liberals and the press was focused elsewhere, the Legislature quietly passed a bill by Assemblyman Jerry Lewis (R-San Bernardino) that eliminates from the front page of all medical and hospital insurance policies a summary of the coverage provided the insured.

Henceforth, policyholders must wade through pages of fine print usually couched in complicated legalese to understand the policy provisions. Their only other alternative: to rely upon the representations of the insurance salesman.

The bill, brainchild of Reagan's administration and of San Francisco attorney and insurance lobbyist John McFarland, was piloted through both houses by Lewis, a life insurance underwriter serving his first assembly term.

His chief argument was that the summary often failed to list exceptions in the contract and hence made it easy for unscrupulous salesmen to mislead purchasers. But Lewis resisted a Democratic-sponsored amendment in the Assembly that substituted for the summary a warning directing buyers to the "exceptions" portion of insurance contracts.

Nonetheless, the Assembly incorporated the amendment, then unanimously sent the bill to the Senate where Sen. Gordon Cologne (R-Riverside) restored the measure to its original form. Cologne presented the amendment as routine when the bill was brought up during the last minute adjournment rush and its effect was lost on Senate liberals who usually resist anti-consumer bills.

The bill passed unanimously in the Senate and survived a floor fight in the Assembly in the session's last week. Even the most responsible legislators are then eager to race through the file and get on with their vacations.

McFarland, the insurance lobbyist who is among the most able of the state capitol's legislative advocates, says the bill was conceived originally as an economy measure by the Reagan administration, which wanted to eliminate some jobs in the State Insurance Department. (the Department is charged with seeing that the summaries accurately reflect the policies, a task which in most cases they have performed faithfully.)

"But they had second thoughts about supporting the bill after it was introduced," McFarland said. "The Reagan administration was afraid of being called anti-consumer."

These supposed second thoughts did not prevent Reagan from signing the Lewis bill into law.

Despite such familiar House of Lobby victories, the 1969 session demonstrated convincingly that lobbyists can be beaten at their own game when public opinion is sufficiently aroused.

Skillful use of public pressure by conservationist groups defeated such formidable lobbyists as Leslie Salt and Westbay Community Associates in the battle over legislation to preserve San Francisco Bay. Conservationists also won a limited victory in their efforts to control dangerous pesticides and scared Detroit when the Senate passed a bill, supported in the upper house both by liberals and by avowed John Bircher John G. Schmitz (R-Tustin), that would prevent California sale of vehicles with internal combustion engines after 1975. The measure was killed in the Assembly, where it was used as a lever to tighten automotive smog controls.

The session's two major anti-consumer bills also suffered a well-deserved burial. One was submitted by Assemblyman Bob Moretti (D-Van Nuys) and later "given" to a fellow Democrat, Assemblyman Walter Powers of Sacramento. In its original form it would have boosted the maximum interest charges on retail installment credit contracts by 50 per cent.

Opposition from consumer groups, the NAACP and a few alert state capitol reporters put the sword to Powers, who was denounced by his county central committee and finally put the bill (sponsored primarily by furniture dealer lobbyists) in the inactive file.

The other measure, by Assemblyman Robert Beverly (R-Manhattan Beach), would have boosted second mortgage charges. It provoked an odd alliance of opposition from such liberals as Assemblyman John Burton (D-San Francisco) and from the Reagan administration's conservative real estate commissioner, Burton Smith, best known for promoting the anti-fair housing Prop. 14 as head of the California Real Estate Association. But Smith, who had backed a Moretti bill raising second mortgage charges the year before, regarded a new increase as unjustifiable.

Beverly pried the bill out of the Assembly over Burton's vigorous opposition, but he dropped the measure in the Senate when he learned it faced both a floor fight and Reagan's probable veto.

The man most responsible for giving someone other than the big lobbies a fighting chance in the Legislature is Sen. Howard Way (R-Exeter), the man who in mid-session dumped Sen. Hugh Burns (D-Fresno) as president pro tem of the Senate.

Burns' closest cronies were five or six big lobbyists and an equal number of Senate "club members" from both parties. For years he had selected key committee men to promote the needs of his special interest friends.

Way's views on welfare and agricultural issues reflect his conservative constituency but he is an honest man and a progressive on environmental questions. He correctly assessed the widespread resentment toward the Senate club among urban senators and put together a coalition that included some of the most liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans in the Senate. They overthrew Burns. The lobbies countered, unsuccessfully, in a session-long effort to replace Way with some other club-member.

The 1969 session bore the first fruits of a 1966 reapportionment that was supposed to transform the Senate from a rural house dominated by a few lobbyists to a legislature representing the needs and aspirations of the largely unrepresented urban majorities.

The Senate has not yet become that, but it is moving in the right direction.

THE END

The PUC: a sleeping watchdog

By Douglas Dibble

When the SDS radicals zoomed in on the State Public Utilities Commission's hearings on the PG&E gas rate increase, they may have known what they were about, but nobody else did.

Shouting, carrying on, interrupting the PUC staff and each other, they turned the hearings for two days into a revival meeting, complete with repeated cries of "Right on!" (the radical's equivalent of "Amen, brother!") when one of them scored a point. But their preaching went over the heads of almost everyone, including police intelligence officers on tap and at the ready, for the occasion.

However, towards the end, briefly, they hit the mark. One, apparently shocked out of his mood of furious exasperation, asked the PUC hearing examiner, Carol Coffey, what would happen "if we brought in thousands of affidavits from poor people" telling how they would be affected by a gas rate increase.

He was serious. But Coffey evaded the question by replying, "We're interested in your own personal situation."

If the thousands of affidavits had appeared, doubtless they would have been quickly discarded. For they do not suit the PUC's current view of its job.

Proletarian view

They would have had impact if the PUC still took the proletarian view that prevailed during part of Brown's administration. In that view, the duty of utilities is to minimize cost rather than maximize service. The lower classes want cheap utilities, even if it means an occasional power shortage or tied-up phone lines.

This proletarian view reached its zenith in the middle of Brown's administration when the PUC ordered Pacific Telephone to reduce its rates -- a blow still haunting telephone company lawyers.

The current PUC view is more bourgeois: utilities are entitled to earn a fair return, but in exchange they must provide first-rate service, and no nonsense.

For example, a San Jose merchant recently found his telephone system inadequate and asked Pacific Telephone to suggest improvements. The company did, and he installed their proposed system, only to find that it, too, was inadequate. On advice of a private consultant, he replaced it with a third system, which proved satisfactory. He then refused to pay Pacific's $835 bill for installing the inadequate system.

When the case came before the PUC, it exonerated him from paying the bill by a 3-2 vote. A public utility, the Commission said, must tell its customers about all services available, and not oversell one of them.

A third view is rapidly supplanting the second. This, the laissez-faire view, regards the Commission as a sleeping watchdog, occasionally opening an eye to gaze indifferently as the utility burglars stroll past with the household silver.

Of the five commissioners, the only remaining Brown appointee is A.W. Gatov, but he

—continued to page 15

BOOKS in English from CHINA & VIETNAM
imported under U.S. Gov't. License

WRITINGS OF MAO TSE-TUNG
Quotations & People's War $1.00
Sel. Military Wrs. (pocket) 1.25
Sel. Works 4 vols. 10.00
Poems $3.00; 10 More Poems 1.25
* * *
Subs: Peking Review airmail 4.00
China Pictorial 3.00
Vietnam Courier 26 wks. 5.00
Vietnam Illus. 12 months 5.00
* * *
Payment with order to:
CHINA BOOKS
2929 24th St., S.F. 94110
Free Catalog.
Store hours D & Sat. 9-6

An Unusual Jr High
Non-Graded Study-Travel Program
Stressing
Relevance*Mobility*Direct Contact
Interracial & co-educational
Presidio Hill School
SK 1-9318

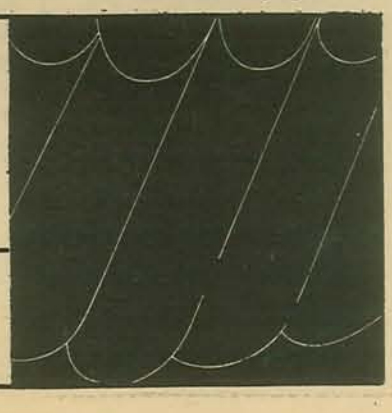
CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES
a graduate school of Asian religion, philosophy, psychology, language, and comparative studies east-west
FALL QUARTER BEGINS SEPT. 15th
MA and PhD Programs
evening classes – auditors welcome
3494-21st St., San Francisco 648-1489

GALLERY KABUTOYA
Contemporary Japanese Paintings
Japanese Cultural and Trade Center
1737 Post Street • 567-3100

S.F. CONSERVATORY OF BALLET
AND THEATER ARTS
HEADQUARTERS FOR BALLET CELESTE OF SAN FRANCISCO
Only True European-Type School In The U.S.A.
BEGINNERS THRU PROFESSIONAL CHILDREN & ADULTS
U.S. Government Approved For Immigrants
2-YEAR TEACHER COURSE DIPLOMA
Twelve Grades Academic Education
731-0532 Brochure on request Est 1955 1929 Irving, S.F.

NOVA ACADEMY
NON-SECTARIAN, 1-12th GRADES
Designed For The Artistic And Gifted, College Prep. Limited Classes, Foreign Languages And Science Stressed, Ballet And Theater Arts Included. Special Emphasis Given Arts That Promote Universal Understanding. U. S. Government Approved For Immigrants.
731-0532 Brochure On Request 1929 Irving, S.F.

The Upstart Crow and Company
open every day 10 am-11 pm
Sunday 10 am - 7 pm
Books at THE CANNERY
2801 Leavenworth
San Francisco
474-0212



THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY
GUARDIAN

PHONE UN 1-9600 ADDRESS: 1070 BRYANT ST., SAN FRANCISCO

Making the charter sexy

"It's a good idea," Presidеat Roosevelt once told a citizen's group making a personal appeal to him for a special project. "Now go out and put enough pressure on me so I will have to do it."

It is in this spirit that The Guardian puts the sword to the San Francisco Charter Revision Committee for its failure to tackle the city's unfulfilled public power commitments under the Raker Act and the city charter. (See Petrakis story, p 1.)

The committee has done some exemplary things (inaugurating an ombudsman, making the planning commission more independent, streamlining the charter). It has taken some unjustified blows from labor and the Chamber of Commerce--a low blow, in the Chamber's case. But it has erred, badly, in refusing to move affirmatively on Raker Act enforcement and this unfortunately invalidates much of its otherwise good and able work.

The committee, by separating the water and power components of the Hetch Hetchy complex, by depriving them of charter status, has made it difficult in principle to carry forward the city's public power responsibilities and almost impossible to put together a practical legal mechanism to carry them out.

The committee, by "balkanizing" the utilities, also foreclosed the only feasible method of acquiring a public power system: to do so gradually in federal urban renewal projects enforced by federal law.

As a practical political matter, it will be almost impossible to break PG&E's illegal power monopoly in San Francisco if these new charter power provisions are approved.

This is not an academic argument of public vs. private power or what the charter committee should or should not do. San Francisco is the only city (repeat: only) city in the U.S. that is required by federal law to build a municipal power system. But PG&E has kept this public power out of San Francisco for decades.

The coming of public power is of enormous and strategic importance for one simple reason: there's a lot of money, $30 million a year, at stake for San Francisco. It means cheap power for industry, lower light and heat bills for everybody, tax subsidies for property owners and a major source of big revenue for socially beneficial programs for the city.

Take it with a grain of Leslie salt

The Apperson Ridge affair soon may be settled and a huge chunk of the East Bay skyline may be gone.

Utah Construction--which wants to gouge 100 million cubic yards from the ridge over 30 years--has delayed the vote of Alameda Supervisors through the summer, hoping public outrage would vaporize. It hasn't.

Why does Utah want Apperson Ridge? The demand for premium aggregate in the Bay area is stable, the supply plentiful. The present market consumes 800,000 cubic yards a year and Utah, against a half dozen experienced competitors, could hope for only a fraction of the whole.

But Utah predicts its quarry will produce about 3.3 million cubic yards a year.

What will Utah do with it all? No one knows for sure and Utah isn't saying, but some intelligent guesses have been made.

Henry Quinby, a conservation leader fighting Utah, believes Apperson Ridge will go into the bay just as have so many Peninsula hills. Although the Bay Conservation and Development Commission now has jurisdiction over Leslie Salt's 43,000 acres of salt and marsh lands in the South Bay, that land could still be developed if the state doesn't purchase it.

A BCDC official agrees this could happen and the Ridge could end up as a bay subdivision like Redwood Shores and Foster City on the San Mateo County shoreline. Note: Apperson Ridge is conveniently close to Leslie's bayshore properties, which arc from Newark around the South Bay to Belmont on the west side. Other bayside projects--in Albany and at the Oakland Airport, for example--may also need large amounts of aggregate fill, the official points out.

Utah would be happy to sell Apperson aggregate as fill. Marshall Newport, Utah's manager of sand gravel operations, has been quoted as saying, "If anyone wants to use it for fill, that would be fine with us."

A beautiful ridge for more bayfill? Yes, but the specter just starts there. It also means one truck every 37 seconds, 16 hours a day, for 30 years--a traffic total equivalent to 20 per cent of Interstate 680's current capacity. God bless Utah Construction!

LETTERS

To the editor:

A clipping from your August 18 issue indicates the Bay Guardian knows very little about SRI and has apparently made no attempt to gather any factual information.

First of all, SRI is not and never has been a lobbyist in Washington for the City of San Francisco. The Institute has tried to assist the City in analyzing its major problems and to advise the city in applying for federal funds earmarked by Congress to meet exactly those kind of problems.

This means SRI deals with existing laws (or what you refer to as "mucking around with federal fund applications"). The Institute does not make any attempt to influence pending legislation, although our Washington representatives do keep City officials advised of the status of bills before Congress which affect cities.

One reason SRI was selected to give this kind of technical assistance to the City was that in 1965, under a contract from OEO, the Institute assembled the first comprehensive directory of federal assistance programs.

I am surprised the Guardian dredged up that old rumor about ex-Mayor Shelley being offered a "comfy post" at SRI. That was an election-campaign canard spread during the 1967 mayoralty campaign. To this date ex-Mayor Shelly had never worked a day at SRI, either in a "comfy" or non-comfy post.

The Guardian was correct on one point, however. The relationship between SRI and San Francisco is unusual. It is the first time the Institute has tried to bring its knowledge to bear in direct assistance to a municipality trying to meet some of the pressing needs of its citizenry. Since cities today need all the help they can get, the Institute feels this is a worthwhile experimental departure from its usual procedures. Since the total value of this contract amounts to less than one-twentieth of one per cent of SRI's annual revenue, we could hardly be in it for the money.

HOMER T. MEADERS
Manager, Public Relations
Stanford Research Institute
Menlo Park, Ca.

Editor's Note:

Mayor Alioto fired the city's Washington lobbyist, then retained SRI in a vague capacity at $25,000 or so a year. If SRI isn't replacing the city's lobbyist, then it has little business on the SF payroll. On principle, SRI shouldn't be on the SF payroll because of SRI's research for a war that has caused San Francisco's federal financing problems.

San Francisco should sever its ties with SRI just as Stanford University is doing.

To the editor:

You have a very interesting paper, but I do wish you would take another look at the California Water project. It is true that it would have been much cheaper, if under the Federal Reclamation Laws, the Federal Government had built the project.

You should know, however, that there were many, many projects ahead of the California Water project and it probably would have been twenty years before the Oroville Dam was built. I had to make the decision based upon human lives. The floods of 1955 caused 35 or 40 deaths and millions and millions of dollars worth of property damage.

If we hadn't built the dam, there would have been greater damages in 1964, 1965, and 1968.

Northern California needed flood control and recreation projects and they also needed additional water. Southern California needed more water and helped pay for the entire project.

It is true that large land owners would benefit from it, but I saw no way of building the project if we had to fight the 160 acre Federal limitation. As a matter of fact, there are far more benefits to more people in a large corporation that distributes its earnings rather than the acreage limitation which benefits relatively few people. One hundred and sixty acres is not a small farm, because these farms are worth on an average of about $1,000 and a 160 acre farm is worth about $160,000. This is not the small farmer of the reclamation days of 1902.

When I was governor, we earmarked the tideland funds for education. The Reagan administration, under pressure from the water interests of Southern California, repealed this statute and gave the funds to the water project. This was absolutely wrong and resulted in diminished education for the people of this state.

It is a long story and I don't think you have it all.

EDMUND G. (PAT) BROWN
Ball, Hunt, Hart & Brown
Beverly Hills, Ca.

Editor's Note:

The Guardian supported you for governor in 1966, a position we feel is strengthened with each passing day of Gov. Reagan's administration. But we disagree with you on many critical issues, notably your state water project and its descent toward ecological and financial disaster.

You admit federal construction would have been "much cheaper," but you say the state was obliged to build Oroville Dam to halt repetition of the disastrous floods in 1955. Exactly the opposite view was expressed two years before you became governor by Sen. Kuchel, a man intimately familiar with prospects to get federal appropriations for construction in California. He told Congress in 1956: "I would venture the guess that if the State had not indicated its interest in Oroville, we would have had long before last year's flood a federal dam at Oroville."

Specifically, what flood control and recreation benefits does state construction bring to Northern California that would not come from cheaper federal construction? (By the way, did you tell the people as you told Congress in 1959 that Californians will put up $11 billion to build the State project?)

Already the financial pinch is on, and only $2.8 billion has been spent. True, you did not slash education and mental health as Gov. Reagan is doing, but you inaugurated the water project and the financial pressure on him to divert funds to salvage it.

Your preference for large corporations to distribute "more benefits to more people," instead of giving them direct benefits of owning their own farms under acreage limitation, is curiously reminiscent of Mellon's "trickle down" theory.

How much really trickles down? Compare the quality of life in communites on the east side of the San Joaquin Valley with those on the west side supported by large corporate farming and you will have the answer in five minutes: not much trickles down.

In fact, as Robert Jones' grape strike story makes plain, the corporate growers have put together a massive public relations attack to break the grape boycott and keep Chavez's farm workers from forming a strong union and getting their fair share of these corporate benefits and earnings.

We commend your forthright statement that 160 acres "is not a small farm." It exposes properly the current propaganda by enemies of acreage limitation who seek to cajole the uninformed city folk into thinking 160 acres is too small to afford a decent living.

When you were attorney general, you courageously reversed your predecessor and carried the fight to preserve acreage limitation to an 8-0 victory in the U.S. Supreme Court. You then were fulfilling the Democratic Party Platform.

Query: After you became governor, why did you switch and scuttle this acreage limitation on the water project that, as you say, benefits "large land owners" and costs California so much more than federal construction?

Further query: What kind of water project is it, anyway, that brings Rep. Henry Reuss' Conservation and Natural Resources Committee to San Francisco to try to protect the North from what the Chronicle calls the "Water Raiders" of the state project?

THE BAY GUARDIAN

"It is a newspaper's duty to print the news, and raise hell." (Wilbur F. Storey: Statement of the aims of the Chicago Times, 1861.)

• • •

Editor and publisher: Bruce B. Brugmann
Managing editor: Roger Henkle
Associate editors: Jean Dibble, Alan Velie
General manager: Printer L. Bowler
City editor: Creighton H. Churchill
News and features: Wilbur Wood
Assistant to the publisher: Nancy Hunn Dale Rosen
News staff: William Anderson, Douglas Dibble, Robert Jones,
Staff photographer: Tony Rogers
Layout editor: Blair Paltridge
Assistant layout editor: Marion Dibble
Advertising manager: Blanche Streeter
Retail advertising director: Evelyn Won
Art editor: George Gardiner
Distribution manager: Gary Baldwin
Roving editors: Michael Kernan, Karl Tunberg
Business manager: Paul Sherlock
Editors at large: Marvin Breslow, Jess Brownell, Wilbur Gaffney, William Kelsay, Theodore Rasmussen
Production: Annette Creel, Sally King Joan Baker Kathryn Rice Myra Terziev Bertha Baldwin Marcia Challacombe

Whitaker & Baxter presents:

Violence at the Supermarket

or can flak change Cesar Chavez from a "Messiah" to a "New Left Anarchist"?

—*continued from page 1*

there has been a change: Whitaker and Baxter, a public relations firm in San Francisco, has taken on the growers' cause—and a lot of their money.

The same firm that propagandized against "socialism" in Medicare for the American Medical Association, promoted "In Your Heart You Know He's Right" for Barry Goldwater, and insists what's good for PG&E is good for California, now introduces Consumer Rights, George Murphy as a man of the people and Malcolm Smith, a Britisher recently hired by Whitaker and Baxter.

If he has not already, Smith will soon affect the way you think about the grape strike.

At a press conference in Los Angeles last month, State Senator John L. Harmer, reporting on his two weeks disguised as a grape worker, claimed the workers wanted neither a union nor Cesar Chavez. On June 13, the Toronto Globe and Mail ran a front-page headline, "Two grape boycotters reverse their stand." In May, a grape grower visited newspapers and television stations of more than a dozen mid-west cities, script in hand, and expounded on the evils of unionism and the virtue of free enterprise.

All were produced and directed by Malcolm Smith of Whitaker and Baxter. "If Malcolm weren't such a good friend, I probably wouldn't speak to him for what he is doing," declared Bill Thomas, a former Chronicle reporter, now administrative assistant to Rep. Philip Burton. "But, hell, what can you do? Besides, Malcolm is that combination of intelligence and energy that makes anything he does seem infectious.

"I think he invented the on-the-spot press conference, and I wouldn't be surprised if he'd pull off television interviews of grape workers in the fields, to try and prove to the world how happy they all are."

Messiah treatment

In 1964, Malcolm Smith returned to San Francisco from a year-long trip around the world. Having left the city with an airplane ticket and $1500, he landed, broke, 13 months later. He telegrammed Thomas, collect, to pick him up at the airport.

Smith returned to the Chronicle, where he had worked before his trip. Uneasy with the paper, he quit after four months.

"It wasn't that I disliked the Chronicle so much, or the money--although God knows there wasn't much of it," he remembers. "But there's a style of indolence there. After the Chronicle had won the war with the Examiner, the excitement dissipated. You began to feel decayed."

For five years Smith was on his own, turning out press releases for restaurants and nightclubs, taking overflow work from Dave Nelson, unofficial Chronicle press agent.

On Sept. 15, for example, Whitaker and Baxter flew Mrs. Beebe to San Francisco and arranged a glossy press conference for her to support the Murphy anti-boycott legislation that the front CRC group is promoting.

Mrs. Beebe said she represented the CRC but equivocated under questioning by newsmen about her relation to Whitaker and Baxter. She claimed the bill would guarantee consumer rights, but admitted she had no experience with consumer legislation in Michigan.

In 1968, Mike Abramson, Vice President of Whitaker and Baxter, called Bill Thomas at the Chronicle. Whitaker and Baxter needed a writer for their campaign against the Proposition 9 referendum. Thomas suggested Smith.

Smith worked on a contract in the campaign and helped turn probable defeat into victory. Though the money was less--much less--than he had been making, he was happy in the job. In May, Abramson asked Smith to join the staff, and he accepted.

"It's hard to recall what I thought about the grape boycott before I went to work at Whitaker and Baxter," he said, adding in an odd, equivocal way: "But our consumption of grapes had probably been reduced by as much as 50% by the publicity of the strikers."

After coming to Whitaker and Baxter, Smith became, according to his wife, Christine, "a grape bore. He talked about it incessantly, even in his sleep. It got so bad, that after a party where Malcolm was fingering too many lapels, I put up a sign in the kitchen: 'California table grapes--the forbidden subject.'"

Smith explains his original doubts by what he calls "the Messiah treatment" given to Chavez by much of the press. Smith does not know Chavez, has never talked to him, though he regrets it. ("I wish," he says, "I had gone down in the very beginning and told them I was a Chronicle reporter and talked to him.")

But he does believe Chavez has fooled a lot of people, many of them reporters. Chavez' talent for deception, reflected in the press, Smith claims, accounts for much of the public's support and his own former support of the strike.

Smith began to work on the grape boycott account as soon as he joined Whitaker and Baxter. General strategy had been laid in February by Clem Whitaker, Jr. and Mike Abramson, Vice President. With Smith and other administrators (besides the large and expensive San Francisco staff, the firm retains up to six field men for temporary assignments) they planned a broad campaign: to create a front organization to build public support for the growers and obscure Whitaker and Baxter's involvement; to suggest legislation ending the boycott and strike; to contact newspaper editors, television and radio station news chiefs in every large American city; to publicize community leaders who, after tours of the strike area, would announce they no longer supported Chavez; and, most important, to change the issue of the boycott from "worker rights" to "consumer rights".

Geographically, the campaign strategy focused on the South and Northeast, the Northeast because the boycott is strongest there and hurts the most, the South because it represents a great potential market for grapes that aren't sold in the Northeast. California was judged comparatively safe as long as Safeway held the line as the key food chain.

Consumer rights

Early in May, in conjunction with Lorraine Beebe, a conservative Michigan state senator worried about boycotts extending to her state, Whitaker and Baxter formed the Consumer Rights Committee in Washington. The press release, announcing the committee's formation (to "solve the problem of product boycotts,") listed its press contact: Whitaker and Baxter, 870 Market St., San Francisco, California.

The CRC, which claims 20,000 contributors, is financed by grape growers, food distributors and large retail chains. It acts as a conduit for the Whitaker and Baxter line and as a lobby for boycott legislation.

A public front is always important and is especially so in the grape campaign. The name "Consumer Rights Committee" immediately shifts the focus of the boycott from civil rights of farm workers to buying rights of housewives.

"You can't beat something with nothing," Clem Whitaker, Sr., once said. Here, Whitaker and Baxter offer the protection of capitalism and the right of the buyer to buy and the seller to sell. The Consumer Rights Committee defends the American Way.

Battle plan

Conversely, while Chavez' campaign is never directly called subversive, the innuendos are everywhere. The CRC's first release warned that the grape boycott threatens "our free economy."

Later, the CRC claimed its program would "halt violence at the supermarket," and a CRC pamphlet called Chavez "a disciple of self-proclaimed revolutionary Saul Alinsky."

With the direction of the campaign set, George Murphy was asked to sponsor a bill, severely restricting the rights of agricultural unions, that the CRC could publicly endorse. By the end of May, the bill was in the Senate.

The bill's public presentation reflected Whitaker and Baxter's promotion more than the bill itself. For example, the bill is titled "Consumer Agricultural Food Protection Act of 1969," although it deals almost entirely with limitations on union power in dealings with growers, not with consumer protection.

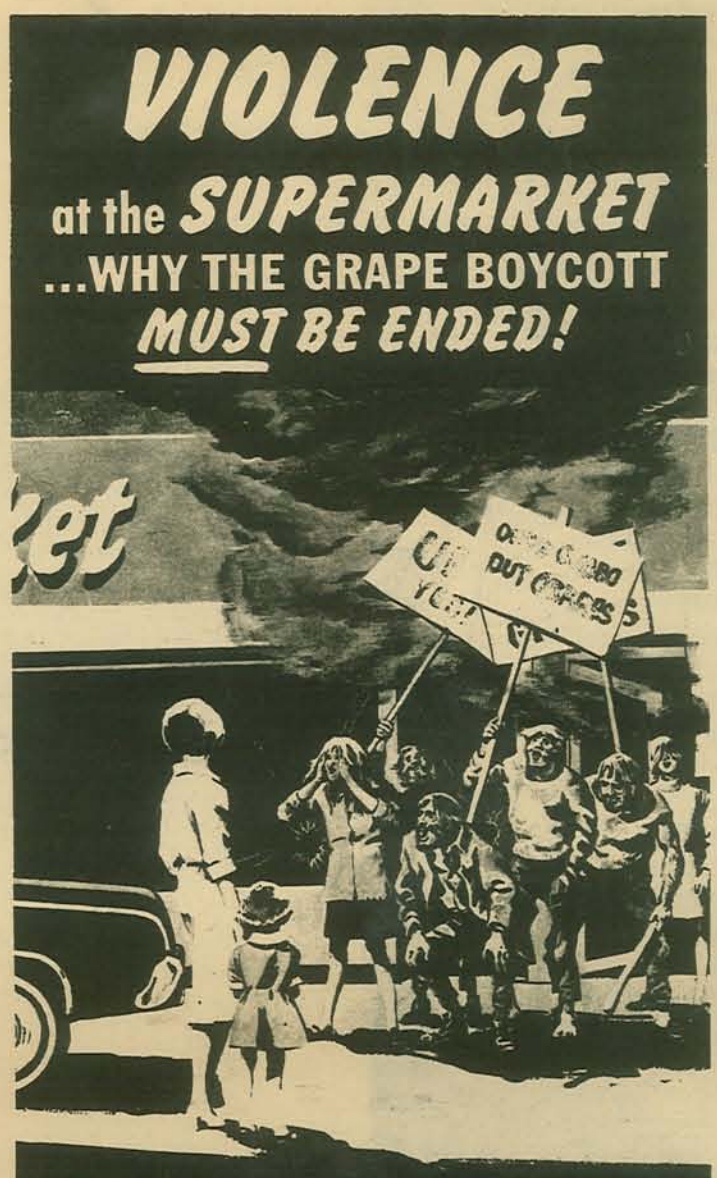
Thus, while the bill forbids boycotts of retail stores and strikes that cause "permanent damage" to the grower, it has been sold as a guarantee of consumers' rights to buy on a free market. In its release, Whitaker and Baxter said the bill would end "increased violence at the supermarket and aggravated harassment of housewives and their families everywhere."

Whitaker and Baxter had presented its case. Now "consumer rights" had to find a constituency. "Without public support," Clem Whitaker, Sr. once said, "nothing

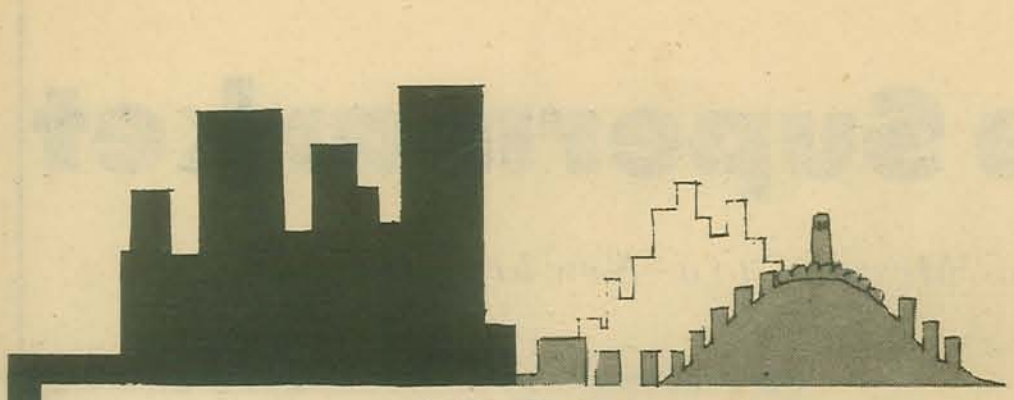
—*continued on page 14*

A Mafia war with A&P

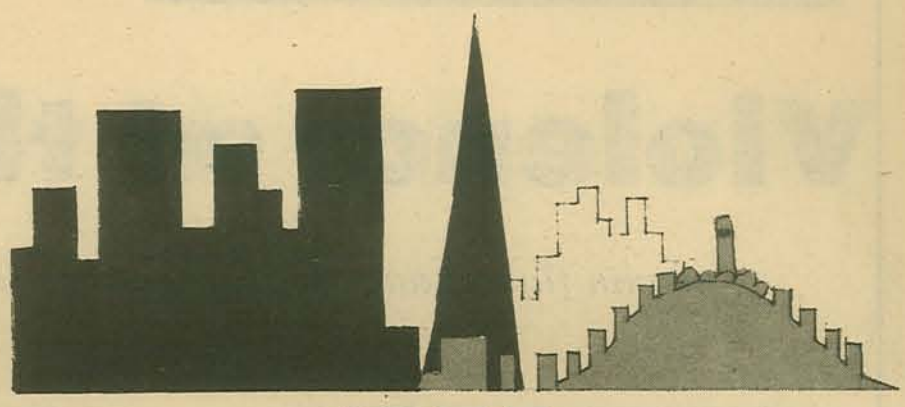
Although violence is a recurring theme in the Whitaker and Baxter campaign, the only incident mentioned in any of the pamphlets occurred in New York. The pamphlet reads: "Midnight. . .two stock clerks are arranging grocery shelves in a supermarket in New York City. Suddenly, from a passing car Molotov cocktails are thrown through the store windows, setting the store ablaze. The clerks are badly burned and hospitalized." The incident occurred Oct. 24, 1968, and at the time the New York Times quoted the Chief Fire Marshall linking the fire bombings with the grape boycott. Although the fire marshall's opinion may seem a weak base on which to rest such a serious charge, indeed, the only specific charge of violence Whitaker and Baxter has made, even that was later destroyed when both the Times and Time magazine revealed the real cause. The bombings were the result of a Mafia war with A&P that began when A&P refused to stock a Mafia-brand detergent. The story attracted national attention, but the charges in the Whitaker and Baxter pamphlets remain.



A pamphlet distributed by the Consumer Rights Committee, a Whitaker and Baxter front in Washington, D.C.



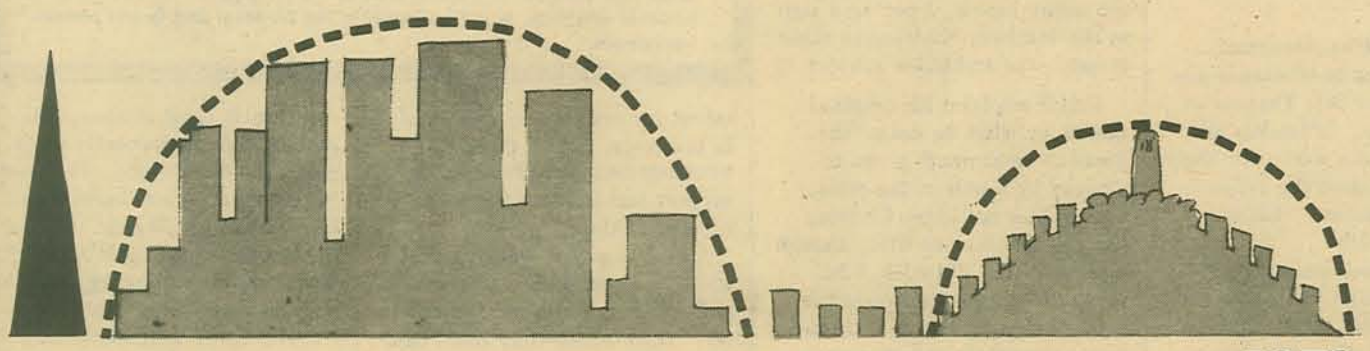
1969



1975

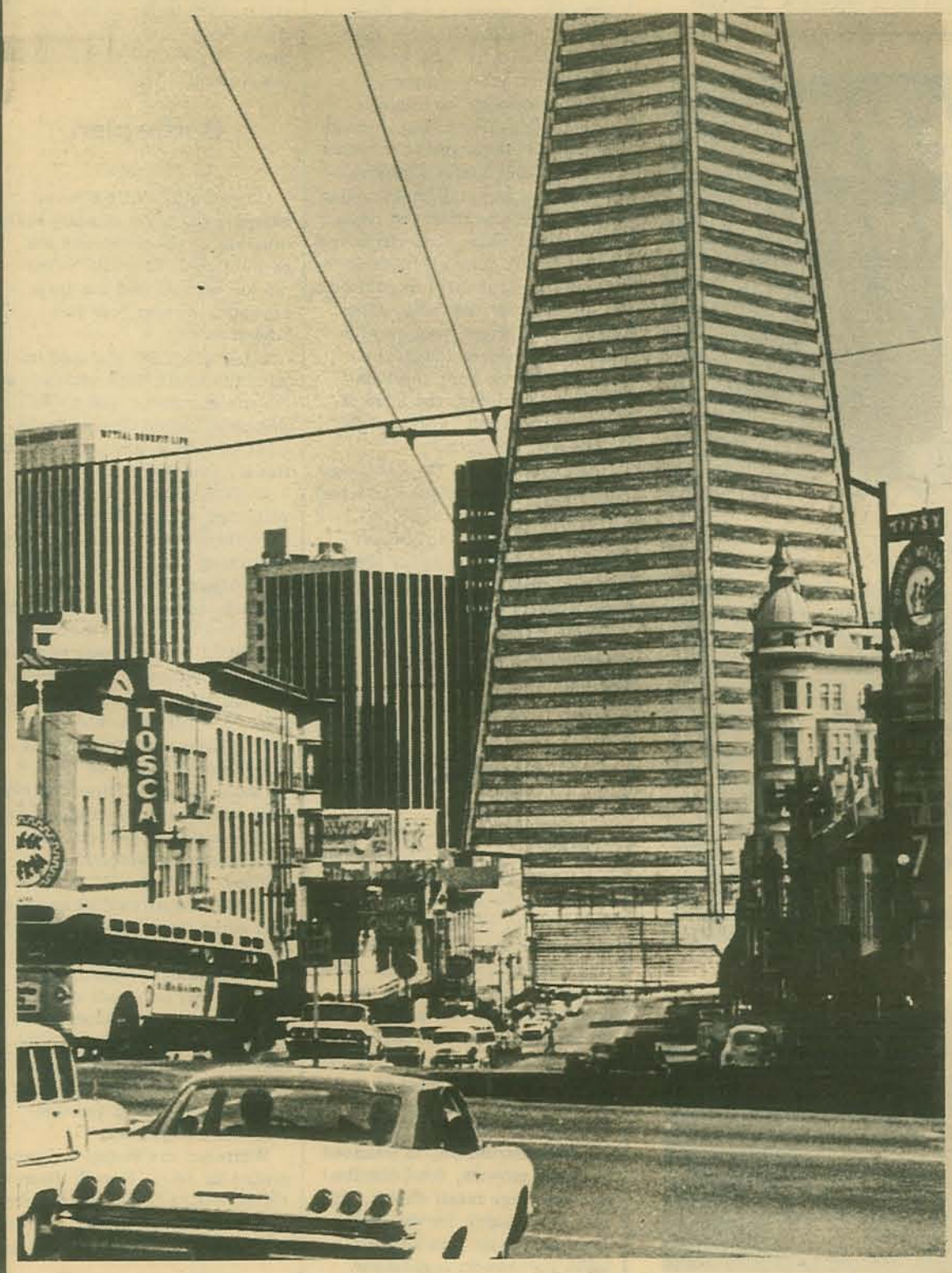
In 5 years, after Trans-America blocks the Portsmouth corridor, office buildings will begin to fill in the valley between Telegraph H

San Francisco:



1970

An alternative:
If Trans-America were built South, instead of North, of Market St. . . .



The Trans-America Building as seen from Columbus and Broadway.

The Transamerica building, as critic Allen ficent statement to the supervisors, is a brutal

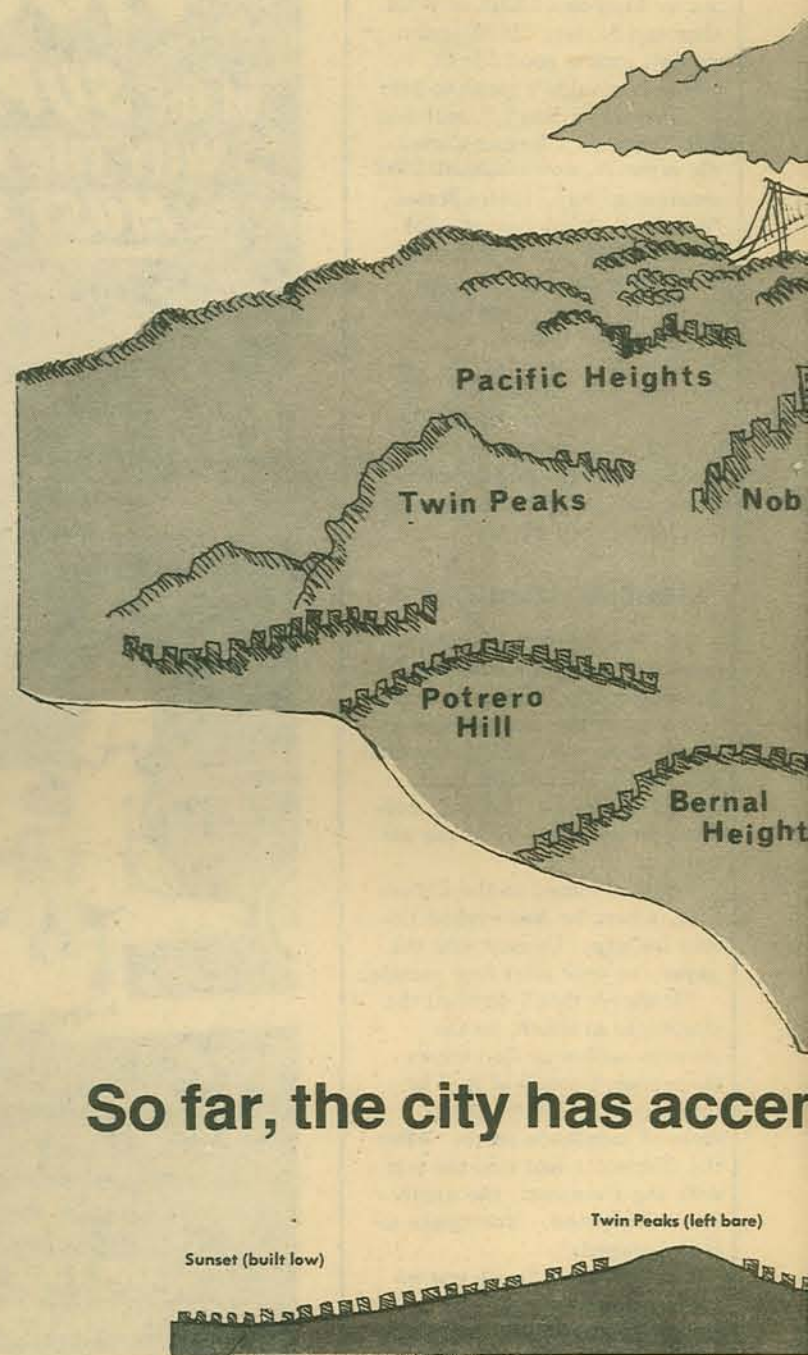
But even worse, as this layout makes clear, in downtown San Francisco.

Transamerica will dominate the transitiona ing out-of-place, out-of-scale skyscrapers, it Chinatown/North Beach/Telegraph Hill area, fl and manmade hills and block off more views of

Soon, the highway engineers will rev up th grace: the bayfront extension of the Emba Alioto, Superchron and Supervisors Tamaras, elsohn, Mailliard, Blake, Francois, Ertola and it. There will be more.

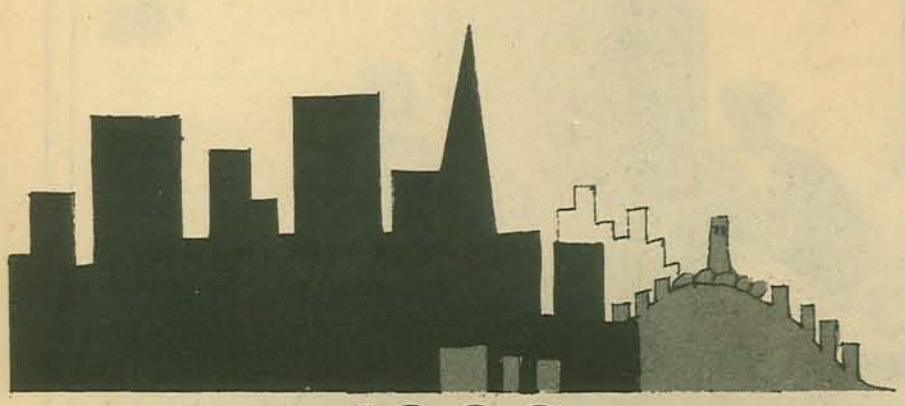
Next time, however, the forces of Manhatta america forces have made their point: it is as of San Francisco as it is to Save San Francisco

Our hills a



So far, the city has accen

Artwork by Marion Dibble



1980



1984

and the financial district. In 15 years, Telegraph, Russian and Nob Hills will disappear in a dense maze of tall buildings.

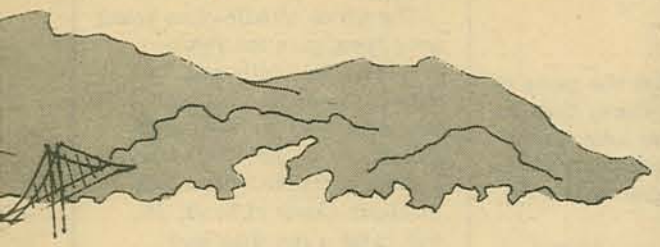
"Going, going..."

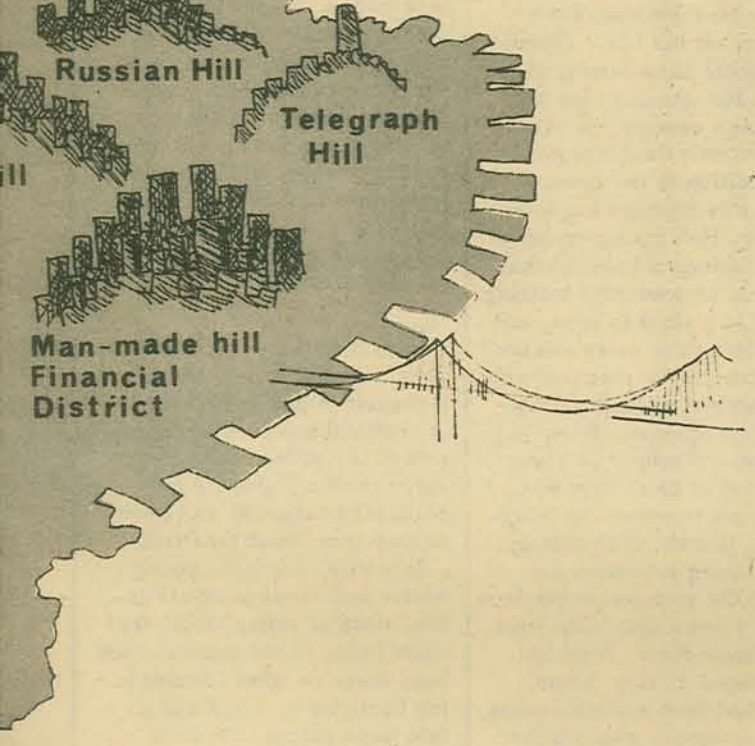
nko detailed in his futile, but magni-
hitectural monstrosity.
s a planning and conservation disaster

ortsmouth Corridor and, by encourag-
ill destroy the intimate scale of the
en out the rugged contours of natural
bay.
attack and give the city its coup de
dero Freeway. Transamerica, Mayor
Beroldingen, Gonzales, Boas, Mend-
losi have said in effect: Get used to

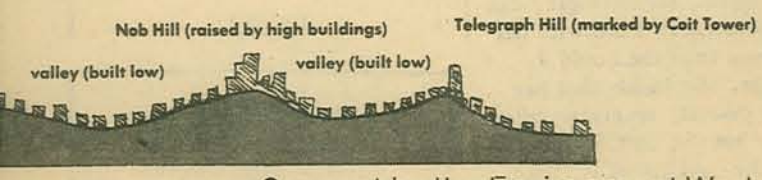
ation won't have it so easy. For Trans-
nportant to save the hills and valleys
y.

d valleys

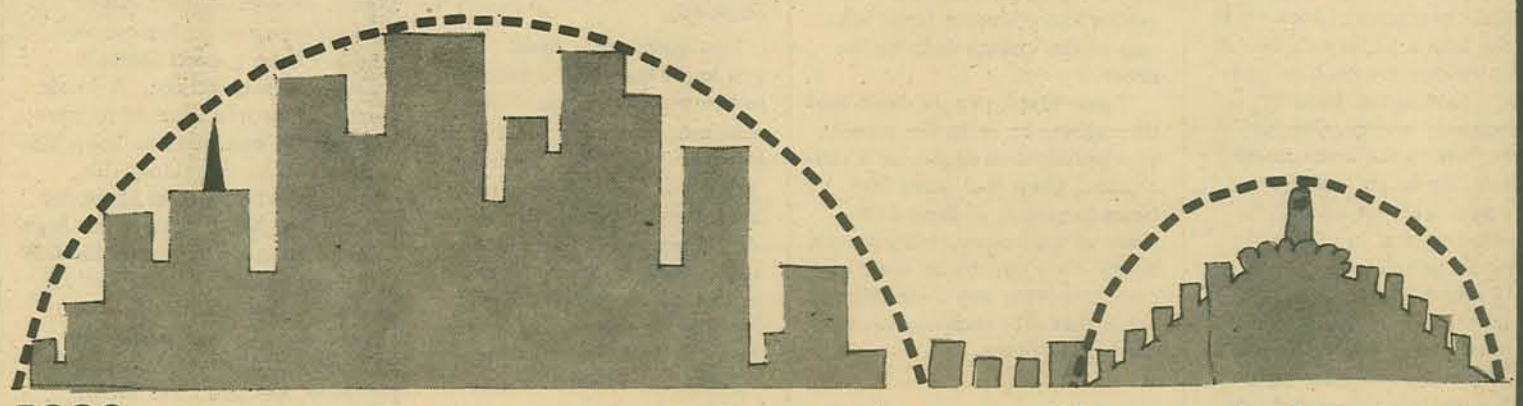




ted the natural contours



Concept by the Environment Workshop



1980

... in ten years the financial district would rise South of Market St., clustered around BART and the freeways.



The Trans-America Building from the 30th floor of the Wells Fargo Building.
In the foreground, the white, triangular structure is Trans-America's present headquarters

By Bill Anderson

Monday evening, in midsummer.



The author's grandparents

I come from a small town in pennsylvania not too far from a main spur of the underground railroad, an escape hatch from the south for slaves, for my mother's people 50 or 75 years before the civil war.

I'm on a greyhound bus, thirty miles from home. Across the aisle two young black children dig into a paper bag full of food, looking for cookies and cake, ignoring the healthy sandwiches, and giggling to themselves in the excitement of their trip to philadelphia. They talk with the clear, uninflected accent of adirondack mountain people.

'My god,' I think, 'what strange accents those boys have,' and then immediately realize I talk the same way. For many years a distinct sub-culture of black people has existed in these mountains: adirondack mountain people, moonshiners, jeffersonian craftsmen.

In our speech there's no trace of the southern accent; a tradition persists dimly in music, on sunday night, in groups around the piano, we still remember the old spirituals and work songs of the south, but a hundred years in one place is a long time in this country--long enough for a tradition to develop in which occupation, educational achievement, expectations, feeling are all different from the experience of black people who came from the south to the northern ghettos during the second world war and afterward.

Among young black people from this community, for example, there is almost no failure in school and they go to college and graduate as easily as their white classmates. Most of my cousins are moving rapidly up the economic ladder and are equipped with air-conditioned cars, neat, landscaped places with neat houses on them; a cousin has a harness horse who runs at the county fairs in the area.

These black people don't feel themselves to be in the middle of a political struggle, or a revolution, they feel more like bears in search of their fair share of the honey, but even so, before they can finish their education or wear out their color television set, startling changes are taking place.

Three years ago my cousin gretta, one-quarter white, a child of one of the few broken families in the town, tells me she's against interracial marriage because of what it does to the children. Now you would think she was on a train rushing toward self perception as she talks about her experience.

As a matter of fact, she says, she always thought she was some kind of freak--the white kids calling her nigger and the black kids thinking she was trying to pass for white. She felt she must be somehow terribly wrong, but she didn't know exactly how. Now she knows she wasn't wrong, she was just black.

She worries about what will happen to her children. As soon as I came in her house she'd plunged right in, 'well, what do you think about all this shit that's going down now?' Then she goes on to talk with a very brutal directness about what matters. Racism. Sex. A little gossip. A penetrating question about my first marriage, in case I should imagine I've got it all together, coming from san francisco.

She gives me a beer. 'Do you know they still discriminate in the county hospital?' she asks me. No. My eyes bug out in rage. Yes, when a white patient is assigned to a room, the clerk at the admissions desk finds out if the white person objects to sharing a room with a black patient. That's terrible, I murmur. Yes, she says, that kind of treatment conditions children.

David Bradley lives down the road from me in a big stone house. His father is a big shot in the african methodist church, a sophomore at the university of pennsylvania. I'm looking for his mother and as I come up to the house, he is sitting on the grass with three white, middle-class hippies of the town.

He tells me his mother is at church, as if he couldn't imagine anything more grotesque. He has a natural and he looks like any other black student militant--he comes from a middle-class family and he is seeking his imaginative fulfillment.

He looks at me with the questioning, wary gaze of the most perceptive young. What is he asking me? How dare he ask me unformed questions? I don't know, I turn away. Neither he nor his companions say anything as I go, for they are masters of silence.

Butch washington, another cousin, was a fat kid who wouldn't even have thought about going to college if he hadn't been a good football player in high school. A whole army of people seemed to have helplessly conspired to keep him from being anything--his mother, who thought about his future and was terrified, his high school coach, who never thought of recommending a big college for him, his grandfather, who hated the city and passed the hatred on to butch.

Now he and I sit in his mother's living room as his son crawls around on the floor, jerking things down. Butch's eyes are never away from him, though our conversation flows on. He is aware of his child in the same watchful, permissive way characteristic of white middle-class parents whose children are now destroying the colleges of the country.

It is obvious that the game of TAG, you're a failure, that has been played for so long with black people, each generation touching its children that way, is now ending.

'One of these days,' butch says, 'I'm going to have to go down and see somebody and find out why my mother couldn't get a job here when she's lived here all her life.' (Though black people have been productive and law-abiding here for more than a century, no black person has ever held a professional position in the town.)

Butch rubs his huge hands on his thighs. He's taking graduate work in business administration, working in an executive training program in a plant in ohio, and driving 300 miles every weekend to get home to his pregnant wife. Three hundred miles is a long way, is my opinion. 'Naw, it only takes six hours,' he says. Then, 'one of these days we ought to get together and bring this town into the 20th century.'

An amazing awareness has come on the younger people here because 4 years ago, what were they? I knew them. A fat kid who wanted to stay home, another kid from a middle-class family, a woman who couldn't see past the first reflex of her own history.

Now gretta, for example, can do immeasurably more with her experience than she could 4 years ago. She insists that her kids get decent, american educations, but she isn't fooled about the quality of it, she knows the actual learning they'll undergo depends on first suffering through that schoolhouse thing.

It's a very negative way to learn something about life, to go to an american college, but what else is there? It's as though the educational experience, the racial trauma, and the experience of having things--affluence--were all stages in the development of consciousness.

Those stages have virtually destroyed the spiritual capacities of the older generation, who look as if they had been ravaged by some horrible disease, but the young behave merely as though they were being immunized by serum.

It was always easy enough in the past to condition the black young, all it was necessary to do was to make them conscious of their difference, wait until they became afraid of being different, then expose them. And it was always good to make sure that the girls didn't marry lower-class men, particularly if they were dark. For this, schools were excellent. Afterward the young people would sit, smoothing a stone with a thumb, staring outward at the country.

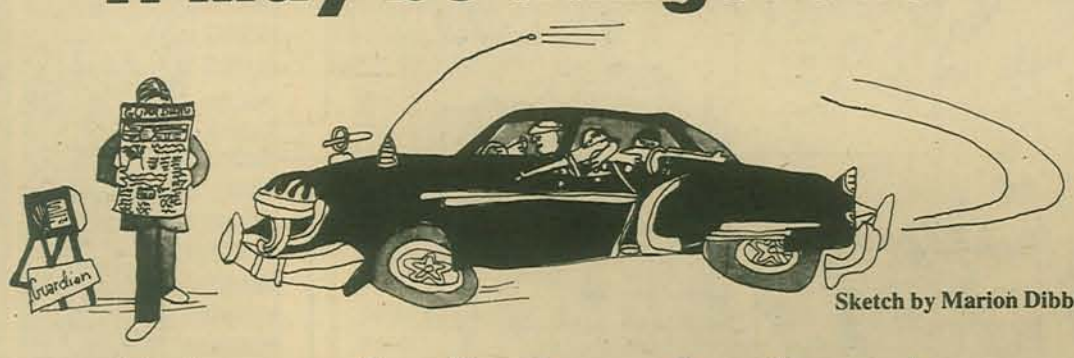
The white middle-class young have been gone for years--in mississippi, in hanoi, in trances, in upper new york state last month for the woodstock rock festival, 400,000 strong, without violence. Or to take an example closer at hand, if you enter a san francisco bookstore, you will probably see a large display of the kind of books only cranks and nuts used to read, on yoga and extrasensory phenomena and edgar cayce, for large numbers of the white young in the middle class are long gone: they are reading these books, they're itching to move to the country, and even when they are engaged in political confrontation, it is against their deepest spiritual inclinations.

This is of the very deepest political significance because it suggests a growing withdrawal of political involvement on the part of the young even though they are at a high state of political awareness, and even as they seem most involved.

In a way, advanced young whites feel about political action much as young blacks feel about being in the middle-class bag, based on what I sensed in my home town. They can go into those places with their eyes and their heads, but they can't go into those places with their hearts, because the heart's never ready.

THE END

It may be dangerous!



Sketch by Marion Dibble

To buy your Guardian from a Guardian rack

We're selling thousands of Guardians on our street racks. But you might miss an issue. It might be wet. You might not have the right change. It may be dangerous,

Subscribe and get your Guardian by mail. It's cheaper, safer and less violent.

BAY GUARDIAN • 1070 BRYANT STREET, SAN FRANCISCO • PHONE UN 1-9600

$2.85 for 12 issues
$5.00 for 24 issues
$7.00 for 36 issues

Name_____

Address_____

City and state_____ Zip_____

☐ Remittance enclosed ☐ Bill company ☐ Bill me

Tamalpais Travel Inc.
of Corte Madera
Tours and Cruises anywhere
In San Francisco call
Maurice Seaman 474-8718

He Got There When The Gold Was Gone

By Jess Brownell

I was talking with Broadax the other night about Norman Mailer winning all those prizes.

Broadax, who would agree with Mailer's views on whisky if on nothing else, lifted his head long enough to mutter something to the effect that the overrated sell-out so-and-so had got what he deserved, and then resumed communion with his glass.

Sour grapes, of course. Broadax is by way of being a literary man himself, and if the Alameda Co. Poetry and Garden Club gave him an award he'd be around tomorrow trying to borrow car-fare to go out and accept it.

They're not going to do it, though.

Broadax has had an interesting and instructive career. I first met him when he was just out of college, back in the 1950s, short-haired, fresh-faced kid, obviously in pain. Encouraged by a sympathetic teacher, he had just written his first book, a thinly-veiled autobiographical account of the emotional tribulations of his school years.

A private hell

It didn't do much. A raft of kids from Harvard and Yale and the exclusive eastern prep schools were writing books like that in those days, and there wasn't any market to speak of for the story of a private hell at Mankato State Teachers.

Disappointed, Broadax joined the army (he'd never admit it now), intending to have a man made of him and at the same time do a "From Here to Eternity"-type novel based on his experiences, but when he got home and found out people were surprised to learn he'd been away, he junked the manuscript and plunged into the business world to get more up-to-date material.

He called the new book "Down the Drain," and thought that he was going to score at last, but by that time the big advertising agency boys were coming out with their books and Broadax couldn't even find a pusblisher for his story of the rat race in the plumbing fixture business.

Then he wrote a book just about sex, but the truth was that a lot of other fellows had done more things.

No story

He finished his political novel about the mayoralty race in a small midwestern town the year Kennedy was elected.

There was to be a book about touring the country in a trailer accompanied only by his dog, but the dog took sick, and then one about trying out for a professional football team, but Broadax broke his ankle stepping off a curb, and so neither got going.

Poor Broadax. His most recent abortive project was to be a study of a murderer, an effort that with the subject's cooperation would combine a psychologist's interview techniques with the skills of a fiction writer, thus providing not only esthetic satisfaction but also new insights into the criminal mentality.

All snapped up

But by now all the good killers have been snapped up, of course, and the only unsigned guy Broadax could find was practically inarticulate. "All he would say, "Broadax reported, "was: 'Boy, did I show that sumbitch.' "Rather striking, really, but even Broadax agrees it doesn't have a book in it.

I asked Broadax why he didn't consider doing a novel about an aging and alcoholic failed writer. "Are you kidding?" he growled. "What the hell kind of market is there for something like that?" He is thinking of giving up the literary game entirely and turning to song-writing. Rock and roll music, he thinks, is the coming thing.

Well, it's easy to laugh at Broadax, but I can't help having a soft spot for him. He may never catch that train, but the engineer will know he's been in a race if Broadax has to send him a wire. He's in the great pioneer tradition of the guys who got there when the gold was gone, and he's as American as you or me.

THE END

ARTIST, ARTISAN



By Tony Rogers

Of the pioneers of avant garde jewelry 30 years ago, Peter Macchiarini has retained a simplicity and streamlined style distinct from the "baroque" school.

He is a master craftsman, standing aloof from modern mass production techniques, still hand-sculpting metal rather than casting in wax. His respect for materials and classical purity of line reflects a cross between Italian Renaissance and pre-World War I futurism.

The 60-year-old Santa Rosa native studied art in Italy during his teens. At first, he sold his work mainly to friends, but, upon returning to San Francisco during the Depression, he soon attracted a coterie of admirers.

Even now, most of his customers hear of him through a private grapevine, now in its second generation, and seek him out.

Women with Macciarini wedding rings send their betrothed daughters to his North Beach shop, 1422 Grant Ave.

John Muir at the summit of Mount Ritter

I scaled a difficult cliff and,
shortly after midday, sat down
on the peak.. Below, all the Sierra,
extending down to Whitney in the South,
to Cathedral Peak in the north. Eastwards
lay the volcanic basin of Mono, the Inyo Range
and beyond, the great prehistoric spines of countless
ranges extending to the horizon. To the west I could see
the flak of the mountains descending to the hazy, yellow belt
of the San Joaquin. Beyond that, the purple costal range
meeting a pearl sky. I gazed in reverie for hours
on this sight, until the sun had dropped far down
and turned a lovely amber from our atmosphere.
Then, awakening myself, I climbed back down
to the previous night's campsite.

Early next morning I sauntered back,
happy as any bird.

Bill Mayer

golden phœnix
Restaurant
728 Washington St.
Phone: 362-5475

JEROVI JEROVI
Boutique for men & women
Colorful-Bold
838 Grant Ave. 781-4731. China Trade Center

FREE ADS?
Yes, for Artisans
See page 15

House of JADE
Sino Jewelry
Largest Selection of Ivory Carvings
22 East Peace Plaza • 567-8100
Japanese Cultural and Trade Center

World of Sound
HI-FI • STEREO
Before you buy any special of the week check World of Sound, everyday low prices on stereo component systems customized to your taste.
2500 Market, San Francisco 621-2500 Open Daily 10 am to 7 pm

PHONE 771-0330
L - S DISTRIBUTORS
WHOLESALERS
MAGAZINES — NEWSPAPERS
QUALITY PAPERBACKS
1161 POST STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94109
New York Times
L.A. Times
London Times
Chicago Tribune

William Winter Comments
CONCISE AND ANALYTICAL OBSERVATIONS UPON WORLD EVENTS
(Bi-weekly)
William Winter has just completed an extensive study tour of European countries, interviewing leading statesmen and people in all walks of life. His reports contain background material for clearer understanding of the events of the day.
Subscription rates to Bay Guardian readers:
One year — $5.00 Introductory (6 issues) — $1.00
Send orders to COMMENTS, Box 817, Sausalito, California 94965

ALL SUPPLIES FOR THE HOME WINE-MAKER
SPECIAL WINE YEASTS AND INGREDIENTS
RECIPES AND TEXTBOOKS
SCIENTIFIC EQUIPMENT
Be your own little old winemaker
Wine-Art OF AMERICA
4324 GEARY BOULEVARD
SAN FRANCISCO
415 / 221-5137

Rolfe Peterson Reviews



'Hair' - A hip example of brute force

Hair (Geary)
Man of La Mancha (Curran)
Geese (Encore)

"Hair" is a desperate attempt to involve the audience. In the good old days, you achieved this commendable goal by writing that touched the emotions and acting you identified with. But "Hair," prime manifestation of a pop culture that discards the rigors and disciplines of writing and acting, uses brute force instead.

You enter the theatre through a stage door, cross the stage and go down the steps into the aisle to find your seat. Hippie performers do leisurely calisthenics in the aisle beside you. When the show begins, they slowly make their way to the stage. This process is long and boring, done in slow motion to give the illusion of being under water--the age of Aquarius. Whatever that means.

Perhaps you are still uninvolved. A character named Burger, at the stage apron, chatters to the audience for several painful minutes about his name and the witless variety of puns on hamburger it makes possible.

He also disrobes, hoping perhaps the sight of a man in nothing but a fringed jock-strap will involve you. Then he swings over the audience on a rope.

Other men in the cast link arms and walk on the arm-rests of the seats. Aimless commotion develops in the boxes, in the aisles and on a gangplank extending from the balcony.

Your attention wanders. The stunts are not adept enough to qualify as feats of skill or strength; the words spoken and sung are incoherent.

The Naked Ultimate

"Hair's" chief protagonist, Claude, is tarred and feathered, then rinsed clean, on stage. Are we being told something? Is the director out to surpass Mary Martin's shampoo in "South Pacific"? His judgment falters in casting as the milquetoast husband of Mrs. Middle Class America--the show's principal symbol of the straight world--a bearded actor who looks like a dissolute rabbi turned hippie.

By the time the notorious but gentle and inoffensive nude scene closes the first act, you may well question this director's sincerity. Are genitalia theatrically or philosophically significant? Or simply the last resort of a director desperate for something Ultimate to top the bizarre Total Theatre he has created to that point?

The second act opens with a chaotic number: electronic music, previously only loud enough to drown the lyrics, becomes a physical assault on the ears, while a third-rate discotheque light show blinds the eyes.

Suddenly, a miracle happens. A young girl, enunciating clearly, sings about Frank Mills. For two minutes the theatre fills with wit and charm, then again degenerates to systematic uglification of sight and sound.

The song lyrics printed in the souvenir program were witty and charming, but none is made intelligible in performance, except for blessed Frank Mills.

Many young afficionados of "Hair," including cast members, have argued vehemently with me about the play. They say I miss the point. But any I.Q. over 70 can hardly miss the obvious themes of these crude skits: anti-Vietnam, anti-draft, anti-establishment, pro-pot, pro-doing-your-own-thing. All these themes I not only recognize and understand, but largely agree with.

Some meanings, I admit, escape me. Why does Claude sometimes affect an English accent and claim to be from Manchester when he really comes from Brooklyn? Why is his mother played by three or four different performers, mostly men, simultaneously? Why does a black woman portray Abraham Lincoln? I am satisfied that my inarticulate hip critics can explain these baffling choices no better than I. They simply reflect the fad for anarchy.

This tone of anarchy has led mature defenders of "Hair" to praise it as comic in the Marx Brothers' style. Here is my main objection to "Hair." Like so much hip culture, it shows no familiarity with cultural traditions. If these kids had observed the Marx Brothers, they would have perceived the Marx humor was not only anarchic, but ingratiating.

Chico's good nature, Harpo's winning innocence and even Groucho's verbal cruelties, had a strange charm, warming straight citizens to anarchy and rebellion. Like all good comedians, they had finesse. "Hair" satirizes the establishment by chanting, in unison, "Fuck you." No finesse.

I could submit more of this show's wit as evidence of its mediocrity: Claude enters in a gorilla suit, removes the head, and says, "Sorry, I lost my head!"--humor hardly worthy of Jerry Lewis, much less the Marx Brothers. How, then, can a bad show be so successful? On its merits, it might have played briefly to a small cult Off-Broadway, then mercifully disappeared. But the 10-second nude scene, the mildest thing about the show, made it a cause celebre. The more people buy tickets, the more people buy tickets. The geometrical progression of pop culture transcends merit or any other rational consideration.

Now we have a national--no, an international--phenomenon on our hands, and if I sound uptight about it, it is because its overwhelming success, not only with the wet-behind-the-ears youth but with the afraid-to-be-out-of-it old, presages a major Cultural Force.

A generation will take "Hair" as a theatrical ideal to emulate. Its amateurish style, its adolescent showing-off, its failure to discriminate between smart and smart-ass, these will set styles that will persist for years. Ironically, these altruistic hippies sneering at materialistic society have enjoyed so great material success that their imitators will produce mediocre and incoherent theatre for decades.

●●●

As "Man of La Mancha," again at the Curran, Jose Ferrer does not match the singer Richard Kiley. But he has authoritative stage presence, and his supporting cast is better than Kiley's.

Although still a long and ponderous libretto, the songs are good and the show worthwhile.

●●●

"Geese" is just terrible. The first play is about two lesbians--cavorting on the stage, in the nude. I liked their bodies, but that's about all. The second is about the same thing, but with two homosexual college boys. I didn't like their bodies much. The older couple, the parents, in their underwear, appealed even less. There's something about jockey shorts on older men.

So I left. I simply couldn't take the strain of the actors' attempts to convince themselves that what they were doing was not perfectly asinine.

THE END

INDONESIA
SATAY HOUSE
Superb Indonesian and Malayan Cuisine
DINNER: 4 to 10 P.M. Closed Fridays
431-8075
504 CASTRO STREET

KEITH ROCKWELL PRESENTS
MUSICAL COMEDY "5th YEAR" GHIRARDELLI SQUARE
Fantasticks
Friday 9:00 pm
SAT. 8:40 & 10:40
ON STAGE
434-1008

TELEGRAPH
REPERTORY CINEMA

CINEMA II

Sept. 18-24: Ingmar Bergman's **A Lesson In Love** **The Brink Of Life**

Sept. 25-Oct. 1: G.W. Pabst's **Kameradschaft** **The Threepenny Opera**

Oct. 2-8: Nicholas Ray's **Rebel Without A Cause** Bernardo Bertolucci's **Before The Revolution**

Oct. 9-15: F.W. Murnau's **Sunrise** Kenji Mizoguchi's **Uge tsu**

Oct. 16-22: Marlene Dietrich in Josef von Sternberg's **The Blue Angel** Jean Marie Straub's **The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach**

Oct. 23-29: Three Shorts By **Agnes Varda** Robert Lapoujade's **Le Socrate**

CINEMA I

Sept. 18-24: Alfred Hitchcock's **The Wrong Man** Samuel Fuller's **The Naked Kiss**

Sept. 25-Oct. 29: **Buster Keaton Festival**

Sept. 25-27: **The Navigator** **Four Buster Keaton - Fatty Arbuckle shorts**

Sept. 28-29: **The Three Ages** Preston Sturges' **The Palm Beach Story**

Sept. 30-Oct. 1: **Our Hospitality,** Four **Charlie Chaplin** Shorts

Oct. 2-4: **Sherlock Jr.** Six **W.C. Fields** Shorts

Oct. 5-6: **Seven Chances** Sturges' **Christmas in July**

Oct. 7-8: **Go West** The Marx Bros. in **Go West**

Oct. 9-11: **The General** Harry Langdon in **Long Pants**

Oct. 12-13: Four **Buster Keaton** Shorts Harold Lloyd in **Professor Beware**

Oct. 14-15: **Battling Butler** Four **Charlie Chaplin** Comedies

Oct. 16-18: **Steamboat Bill Jr.** Neighbors & Douglas Fairbank's **When The Clouds Roll By**

Oct. 19-20: **College** The Marx Bros. in **Horse Feathers**

Oct. 21-22: Four **Buster Keaton** Shorts Landon in **The Strong Man**

Oct. 23-29: **The Cameraman**

2533 Telegraph Avenue Berkeley 848-8650

THIRD ANNUAL RENAISSANCE PLEASURE FAIRE & HA'PENNY MARKET
SEPTEMBER
6-7-13-14-20-21-27-28
CREATED BY Ron & PHYLLIS PATTERSON
IN THE WOODS near SAN RAFAEL
HWY 101 TO MARIN CIVIC CENTER EXIT - EAST ON SAN PEDRO ROAD 3 MILES TO FAIRE SITE PARKING - COME IN COSTUME
11 TIL 6:30
Elizabethan PAGEANT & REVEL
$2.75 in advance UNTIL SEPT. 1st ($3.00 at gate)
Children under 12: $1.00 ~ P.O. BOX 18104, S.F. 18

Joe Jung's
RESTAURANT
CHEF JOE JUNG • Owner Since 1945
Chinese dinners ★ Barbecued Steaks
Fried Chicken • Food to take out and catering
Tropical Cocktails ★ Luncheons ★ Dinners
Free Hors d'Ouevres served 5 p.m.
Open 7 days a week from 11:30 a.m.
BANQUET ROOM 5 to 500 People
881 Clay St.
Bet. Grant & Stockton 362-6706

Japanese Steak House Dinners $3.50 up
Tsurugi's
34th Ave. at Geary (closed Mondays)
Dinners Tues. through Sun.
5 P.M. to 11 p.m.
Res. 752-8435

Geese
a play about Homosexual Love
Encore Theatre
397-7787

The Committee.
622 Broadway, 392-0807. Regular Show 9:00 P.M. Improvised Show 11:15 P.M.
Nightly Except Mon. Sat. 8:30, 10:30, 12:30. Minors Welcome. Student Discount.

A nostalgic look back at black boyhood in Kansas

By Margo Skinner



The Learning Tree (Cinema 21)
Castle Keep (United Artists)
Daddy's Gone A-Hunting (New Baronet)

"The Learning Tree," the first major studio film made by a black man, visualizes the coming of age of a young boy in a small, rural Kansas town during the 1920's. On the surface, it is a lyrical, nostalgic, almost sentimental tale.

But for Newt Winger (Kyle Johnson), the black hero, the archetypal American youth of sunlit fields, stolen apples, old swimming holes and glittering first love is poisoned slowly by racism.

Gordon Parks, who produced, directed and wrote the script and music for the film, adapted it from his own autobiographical novel, and there's the rub. He tried to cram all the book's climaxes into one year of the adolescent hero's life.

Too much happens: Newt's gentle sexual initiation by a local prostitute (Carole Lamond); the trigger-happy sheriff (Dana Elcar) shooting a black farm hand and making the kids dive for the body; Newt's enmity with young Booker Savage (Alex Clarke), black Huckleberry Finn to his Tom Sawyer; a first romance with charming, fresh Mira Waters, who is then seduced and made pregnant by a white high school wolf; Newt's witnessing the murder of a white farmer by a black; the big trial scene; Newt's mother's death--and more.

"The Learning Tree's" crises have impact, but they are spread out rather than built to a crescendo. The film becomes melodrama instead of tragedy.

Director Parks

Parks' inexperience shows as a screen writer, but as a director he is terrific. He handles a cast of little-known black and white actors with skill; everybody comes across three-dimensional, even Newt's saintly mother (Estelle Evans). Good little touches illuminate the characters: The drunken father (Richard Ward) of the "bad" black boy hesitantly and lovingly puts corn bread on the kid's plate. Even the cracker sheriff has human moments.

Though episodic, "The Learning Tree" is a remarkable first film: compassionate, horrifying, angry--a poetic indictment of White America.

Jeez, another bang-bang war picture, I thought after a quick glance at the ads for "Castle Keep," picturing Burt Lancaster as a one-eyed officer in charge of an odd-ball World War II outfit.

Instead, I saw a strange fairy tale, with tanks for dragons, Lancaster a peculiarly American knight on a white horse, and a beautiful princess in a turreted castle crammed with a thousand years of art treasures--pawns in modern mechanized warfare. Even the nearby village could have come out of Grimm: a baker's shop permeated with the smell of fresh bread and a magically beautiful whorehouse, "La Reine Rouge."

Against this setting rages a conflict of ideas on war, peace and the meaning of civilization. A literate, sometimes GI-bawdy, occasionally didactic dialogue crackles among soldiers Lancaster, Patrick O'Neal, Peter Falk, Al Freeman Jr. and European aristocrats Jean-Pierre Aumont and Astrid Heeren.

The film has action, too, climaxing in the Gotterdammerung destruction of the castle in a series of dynamic images. A brilliant, original, surrealistic war movie, incredible out of Hollywood.

Grand Guignol

"Daddy's Gone A-Hunting," an independent venture by director Mark Robson, lacks the magic of "Castle Keep." Robson began years ago with the illustrious producer Val Lewton, who made some of the best limited budget Hollywood horror films at RKO. Backed by Lewton, Robson made his directing debut with "The Seventh Victim," a minor classic. Since then he has directed highly commercial films including "Peyton Place" (a collector's item of bad direction) and, more recently, "Valley of the Dolls."

Robson attempts in his new film a non-supernatural "Rosemary's Baby," with a psychotic killer plotting infanticide in a shiny and unconvincing San Francisco. Its stars, Carol White (of "Poor Cow" fame) and former ACT'er Scott Hylands, try hard, and a few scenes recall early Robson: the episode outside San Carlos station, for example, in which a malevolent shadow stalks the pregnant heroine. But through most of the film, Robson has forgotten what real human beings are like.

The result is Grand Guignol rather than genuine terror.

THE END

(Margo Skinner also reviews films for KPFA - FM radio)



Julian's
KING LEAR
Opening Oct. 10
Julian Theater
285-5768 953 DeHaro, S.F.

HAWAII WEST
Hawaiian & Oriental Dinners
POLYNESIAN SPECIALTIES
729 Vallejo Street
Near Stockton
San Francisco
392-9497

CHINESE TEA LUNCH
DEEM SUM
(Hearts Delites)
ORDERS TO TAKE OUT
HOURS
7 A.M. TO 4 P.M.
Dragon Fountain RESTAURANT
362-8299
941 KEARNY STREET SAN FRANCISCO

TONIGHT at 8:30
CIRCLE STAR THEATRE
SAN CARLOS BAYSHORE at WHIPPLE
TICKETS NOW ON SALE!
Direct from TOKYO & HONG KONG!
A NEW GIRL, GIRL, GIRL, FUN MUSICAL!
GEISHA '69
starring
James Shigeta
with IZUMI YUKIMURA
IMPERIAL DRUM Quintet
THE ULTRA THREE
COMPANY OF 60
20 ORIENTAL NUDES!
8 ORIENTAL DANCERS!
TUES thru FRI at 8:30 • SAT at 7 & 10 • SUN at 5 & 8:30
TICKETS at CIRCLE STAR Box Office & All Regular Agenices
FOR INFO. CALL 365-0565
(SO SORRY) ADULTS ONLY!

World Famous Chinese Cuisine—Since 1913
LUNCHEON • DINNER • COCKTAILS
Shanghai Low
532 Grant Ave. • Chinatown • YU 2-2007



By Creighton H. Churchill

"Revolution!" had a bad summer in the City. Nothing got it on, from a Black Panther riot to a visible triumph of rock/hip/stoned economics. Heads changed, the old hipness died and street people pitched tents in the outer reaches of Paranoia.

Hips of the Lightshow Guild pushed a wildcat strike against the Family Dog on the Great Highway, while street crazies and political eccentrics helped kill a Wild West Show run by the supposed "heavies" of the Hip scene.

When the Guild threatened to strike Bill Graham, he got tough, then billed the strike as part of his week's show. The Guild chickened out and instead shut down the powerless, money-losing but friendly Family Dog, letting Graham operate as he pleased. Fillmore West was powerful and won. The Dog believed in its "brothers" and lost, heels over hash pipe. It was a great reality bath for the rock philosophers.

●●●

Wild West died of inept management, no advance savvy about straight city politics and a shocking ignorance of current street peoples' heads. Two years ago it would have been a nice festival. Now it was a very convenient and appealing target for everyone's spare violence. Altogether, a beautiful maiming.

One Phoenix rising from the ashes was the "Common," an ad hoc grouping of musicians, lightshow freaks, heads and scene heavies that gathers at the Dog every Tuesday and plans the week's program. First assembled to try to solve the lightshow strike, the "Common" sprouted into controlling group of the Dog, making the dancehall a co-op or mutual benefit showcase for local bands--in contrast to Graham's strictly profit-making business.

The Dog now operates seven days a week, in theory, featuring lectures, movies, parties, classes and shows in addition to weekend dances. All bands and participants are paid equal shares of whatever gate is left over after costs, regardless of fame, name or excellence. No guaranteed salaries or minimums or agents' fees. Just straight cooperation among artists and audience.

Since the Dog has been losing money all summer under a "traditional" dancehall format, the co-op mode with its low overhead staved off closing for a month or so, but it will be interesting to see if the Dog survives the winter. One remembers the whimpering demise of the Straight Theatre when it tried to focus the dispersed energies of the Hip community. And through it all Bill Graham successfully rides full bore on the laws of the market place. Straight economics and establishment rationality won the round over the raucous sons of Aquarius. Magnificent disorganization keeps the "revolution" safely defused.

●●●

Several shelters from Aquarian Age fallout have opened or redecorated along Berkeley's expanding row of "head" pubs on San Pablo Avenue around University.

THE ODYSSEY 2033 San Pablo, is the newest beer/wine bar modeled on the pleasant and successful image of the Albatross pub. Replete with wood paneling, rice paper and corkboard, fireplace and a bartender who is a sociology grad student, the Odyssey is a good, inexpensive and warm bar for a long talk on maximizing peer group response to trademark identification stimuli. And the stereo system is good, as are the "Muffies" (hamburger-filled turnovers).

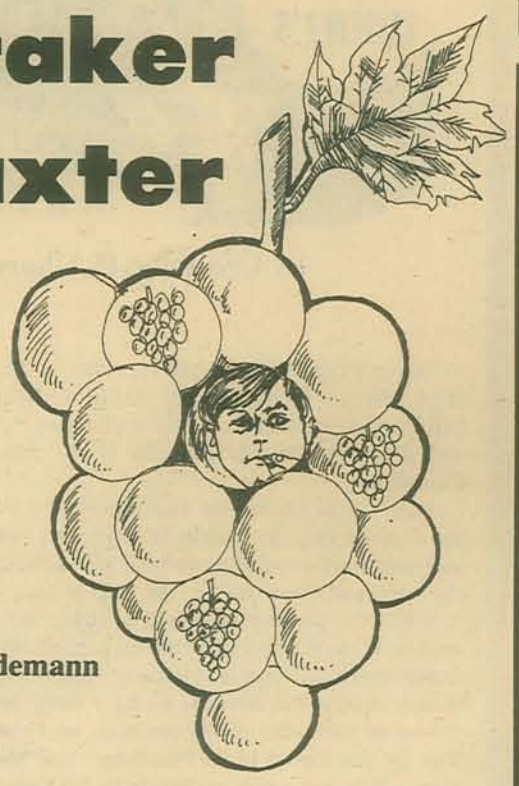
However, for secret trysts with lady psychologists who once taught in "Headstart," one recommends the BLIND LEMON, 2362 San Pablo. A formerly raunchy dive that has upgraded its decor to Graduate Student Western Funk, it sports four new rooms for creative drinking and a dart board under a startling mural of classic nudes.

Lemon was one of the first post-war jazz hangouts (yes, real live jazz in Berkeley). It has survived all the weirdness since then and is now making a successful go at being couth without losing its patina of understanding dissolution. The atmosphere soothing, the house wine good and there is an instant psychiatry booth in the Peanuts manner.

●●●

FREIGHT AND SALVAGE is a coffee house dating from the Kingston Trio era, oozing folk soul and girls in homespun. Dingy, box-like and lived-in, the F/S serves food, coffee, assorted teas and good unamplified local entertainment. With a low door charge and sensible prices, the F/S is crowded but worth the bent elbows. Entertainment cards change weekly and are of interesting variety. On a Tuesday past two housewives with trained, professional voices sang old English rounds and Jason Slade (Mike Wilhelm) former lead guitarist of the Charlatans, wired out the audience with his superb Western blues and shouts. Bottleneck slides, wild finger picking and a powerful, burned-out gunslinger voice drives Slade's songs into unexpected emotion. F/S is a classic discovery club and looks as if it may survive without a beer/wine profit margin. 1827 San Pablo, just north of University.

Whitaker & Baxter



Sketch By H. Endemann

—continued from page 7

can succeed. With it, nothing can fail."

Smith and Luis Caratan, a Delano grower, went on the road. In two weeks, they hit every newspaper, radio and television station in 12 mid-western cities, including Indianapolis, Detroit, Muskegan and Minneapolis. Simultaneously, six similar teams operated in cities covering the whole of the U.S.

"Without Malcolm, the whole trip would have been a bust," Caratan recalls. "They would have been sending a boy to do a man's job."

At first the two would fly into a city, rent a room and call a news conference, but these were miserable failures. "We'd be standing there with a rented room, microphones, ten gallons of coffee and one reporter," Smith explained.

Walking out into the sunlight and heat of the mid-western summer, he motioned to a cab. "How much for a whole day?" he asked, and the two climbed in to make a call at every newspaper, radio and television station in town.

Caratan, a wealthy man with a handsome face and confident charm, was shaken by the tours. "I was embarassed," he recalled. "We'd walk in and no one would want to see us. Malcolm just wouldn't give up. That guy would stand there, for hours it seemed, asking to see the feature editor, a copy boy, a reporter--anybody. Eventually someone would come out and Malcolm had won again. I'd give my speech and we'd hop back in the cab."

Switch to offense

The "speech" was Malcolm's creation. Originally, Caratan says, he planned to defend the growers against Chavez' charges. But Smith changed that. He made the speech aggressive, switching from defense to offense, charging Chavez with disrupting American capitalism.

"So we didn't talk much about the labor conditions in Delano," Caratan recalls, "We told the people of Indianapolis, or whatever, that THEIR rights were being stepped on by the boycott."

The speech referred to Chavez' connection with Alinsky, to the supposed beatings and firebombings caused by the boycotters. Once, in a radio station, a phone caller threatened to bomb the station if the two weren't taken off the air. Smith indignantly refused, saying this was but another example of the boycotters' violent nature.

After a day of taxi rides and speeches, Caratan recalls, "I would be blind with fatigue, with the heat and all the talking. But Malcolm would grab me by the arm and off we'd go to track down the boycott people in town. We never got any real converts, but I do know that we--especially Malcolm--seeded some doubts somewhere out there."

By midnight, they would return to the motel, shirts damp with the day's sweat, minds wooly from too many cities. Caratan would stagger toward the door, only to feel a tug at his sleeve. Smith, in all earnestness, would suggest the two go out for a couple of drinks. "I'd look at him in wonder and say 'Go to hell, Malcolm.'"

Toronto trio

In Toronto the two met a group of clergymen and editors who supported the strike, although a few had doubts about the boycott tactic. Smith invited the men to tour the Delano vineyards, talk to the workers and growers and then hold a press conference in Toronto to report their decisions. Whitaker and Baxter would pay for it all, no strings attached. The men accepted.

Many groups of "investigators" have come to Delano. Most have formed opinions before they arrive and come to confirm their suspicions. Very few have reversed their stand. But Smith's group--the Rev. James Macdonald, Michael O'Meara, editor of a Catholic newspaper, and Herbert F. Irwin, a member of the Ontario Labor Relations Board--did just that.

Juanita Brown, national coordinator for the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee boycott, described the tour: "They flew them down from Toronto, took them over to Caratan's to meet the family, have dinner with the wife and kids, swim in the Caratan pool and drink Caratan liquor."

"On one level its very sophisticated. Malcolm asks them to come down to see the grape strike; but when they get here he creates a situation where they become personal friends with a grower. It's hard to go home and attack a friend."

She added, "Malcolm says he gave us equal time. Who knows if he did? They walked into the office one day, without warning, and Malcolm says, 'You've got two days.' Hell, they'd already made up their minds. In their eyes Caratan was a Good Joe, the All American boy; they didn't care about the strike. It's sad."

Saint Chavez

But Smith was not as confident as he seemed. After the visit to the Caratans', the men took a car for two days. "Go anywhere you like," Smith says he told them, and one went directly to Chavez. "He came back, his face bright, and said, 'Malcolm, that man is a saint.' I felt sick."

But Smith had won the day. Despite lingering sympathy with Chavez himself, all three men returned to say the strike worked against the benefit of the workers.

On the plane trip back to Toronto, Smith planned the news conferences. Irwin, though he agreed with Macdonald and O'Meara, would not attend. "The trip was over and that was that," he explained.

Smith arranged for as wide exposure as possible. Toronto dailies headlined the story on the first page: "Two Grape Boycotters Reverse Their Stand (Toronto Globe and Mail) and "Two Grape Foes Switch" (The Telegram).

But the next day Ron Haggart, a Telegram columnist, headlined his own story "Making Suckers of the Press." The Toronto papers, Haggart claimed, were "tricked": "The long arm of Whitaker and Baxter reached into Toronto yesterday and gulled the newspapers into accepting at face value one of the great public relations snow jobs..."

Within a week, Rev. Macdonald published a rebuttal to Haggart in a 19-page booklet titled "To Eat Or Not To Eat California Grapes, That Is The Question!" O'Meara printed in his own paper a story titled, with unintentional double entendre: "It's Not All Black and White in Delano." Smith was very happy.

Harmer's disguise

According to the Fresno Bee, Harmer's two weeks as a grape worker were arranged through Jack Pandol, the owner of the vineyard; Don Gazzaniga of the right-wing Public Research Institute in Burbank. Harmer's aid in his campaign for Attorney General; and, of course, Malcolm Smith.

Asked if he thought the Harmer affair a bit contrived, Smith answered, "Whitaker and Baxter did not get to be the big dog of PR by barking only when someone stepped on their tail."

Once, after a night in Delano with a group that Luis Caratan was supposed to guide, Smith discovered that Caratan had escaped to a local party. Angry and hurt, Smith called Caratan. "Look, these aren't my grapes. If you're not going to work for them, then I'm not."

And once, after talking for hours about grapes, grape growers and grape workers, Smith said suddenly, "One of these days I'm going up into Canada with Christine. You don't last long at this work and I'm a lawyer, you know, and up there I could practice and Christine would be happy and we'd be out of this city, out of grapes and fighting all the time." But the cloud passed quickly, maybe too quickly. Smith pulled out a new piece of Whitaker and Baxter evidence, leaned toward me as if he had a secret and said, "Here, look at this."

Smith has worked the grape campaign for only four months, and his effect is difficult to estimate. But Whitaker and Baxter is patient; it will work an issue for years if necessary. The progress it makes is slow, almost imperceptible. But the change is there. If, in another year, the public attention shifts from the morality of preventing effective unionization to the morality of boycott pickets, Malcolm Smith has done his job.

THE END

guardian classified

BUSINESS PERSONALS

"EXCELLENT Low-Cost San Francisco Restaurants," $1. R. L. Wanderer, 1584 Waller, SF 94117.

ENGINE Balancing, domestic & foreign car specialists. William Byrd Co., 1044 Larkin. 885-1160

COPY writing, editing, indexing, etc. Free lance basis. Phone Miss Skinner, 474-5991 eves.

TYPING SERVICE
Pick up, deliver. Notary. 334-1279

A-1
Stenographic and Printing Service
220 Bush Street, Room 555
San Francisco
Phone: DO 2-1081

CARPENTRY

FENCES, bulkheads, etc. Redwood board fencing a specialty. Free estimates. 584-5956.

CARPENTER - all around. Expert. Add. Remodel., repair 992-0688

EMPLOYMENT

OPPORTUNITY: sparetime, addressing envelopes & circulars! Make $21 pr. thsnd. addressing envelopes, etc. Complete instructions plus list of firms using addressers. Send just $2. Satisfaction guaranteed. B & V Enterprises-Dpt. 8-96, Bx1056 Yucaipa, Calif. 92399

HAULING

HAULING — Experienced.
MI 8-2888

HAULING, cleaning, and general maintenance. Phone 826-1249.

HOME SERVICE

BASEMENT clng. & hauling, yd. wk., reliable. Free est. Need wk. badly. 585-0459

Don't Fuss—Call Us
Steam clean your garbage cans for $1 per month per can plus a plastic liner weekly.
586-5300
CLEAN GARBAGE CAN CO.

LESSONS & INSTRUCTION

CLASSICAL GREEK: Elementary. Pvt. classes bgng. after Labor Day 2 eves. per wk. S.F. 567-5197

FOLKDANCING San Francisco Greek, Isreali, Balkan Intl. 427 S. Van Ness, 431-6200.

CLASSES in body awareness. A. A. Leath, M.A. 863-6925, Grahamleath Productions, S.F.

PERSONALS

LET'S THROW the bad actors out NEXT YEAR. Send "The Real Ronald Reagan" to your Conservative friends. $1. Reagan Book, Box C, S.F. 94131

GENE DEBS LIVES: For information abt. San Francisco Socialist Party write P.O. Box 1116, San Francisco, 94101.

Committee for Homosexual Freedom meets at the Cabaret 260 Valencia, S.F. 8:30 p.m. Fridays. "An Activist Group."

IN MEMORIAM
For the thousands of men, women and children who are killed senselessly each week in Viet Nam. David Campbell.

REAL ESTATE

WHISPERING PINES--2 1/2 acre estates, 7 mi. from Bend, Ore. From $1995 full price, $50 down, $25 mo. Fishing, boating, skiing--recreation, investment, retirement. Call collect: 326-4309.

GRASS VALLEY area: 4 acr, 1 rm. cabin, $6000, $1500 dn. 2 acr. inside Tahoe Nat'l Forest, remote, creek, $4000, $800 dn. P.O. Box 73 Lagunitas. 457-1632

Sell with low cost Guardian ads!

(minimum 3 lines)

Times run	per issue
1 & 2	.50¢ a line
3 to 12	.45¢ a line
13 & over	.38¢ a line

Write your ad below or call UN 1-9600

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

PHONE NUMBER _____

NO. TIMES TO RUN _____ STARTING DATE _____

MAIL TO: THE BAY GUARDIAN, 1070 BRYANT ST., SAN FRANCISCO, CA. 94103
(ENCLOSE CHECK WITH ORDER)

The poor do pay more at the supermarkets

By Jennifer Cross

Safeway, Lucky and Purity stores charge more for their groceries in Hunters Point, Mission and East Oakland than they do in Pacific Heights and Montclair.

Mayfair showed little discrimination in its sales errors.

A Federal Trade Commission report, based on surveys of 59 local stores in Washington, D.C., and 62 in the San Francisco Bay Area, cites various selling practices which boost prices in low-income areas.

Eleven and a half per cent of all advertised items were mispriced in poorer districts, 7.8 per cent in higher income areas. Seven per cent of advertised specials were unavailable in low-income districts, compared to 5 per cent in higher income areas.

Chains claim "human error" to account for mispricing. However, they do not explain why more errors occur in low-income area stores, why the error rate exceeds the 0.5-3 per cent they anticipate or why one store is sloppier than another.

Here is how the four Bay Area super-chains rated:

SAFEWAY (28 stores surveyed)

7.1 per cent of advertised specials unavailable in low-income areas; 4.9 per cent in higher income areas.

2.6 per cent of shelf prices different from check-out prices in low-income areas; 2.8 per cent in higher income areas.

LUCKY (10 stores)

26.1 per cent of advertised items mispriced in low-income areas; 12.0 per cent in higher income areas.

10.2 per cent of advertised specials unavailable in low-income areas; 7.8 per cent in higher-income areas.

5.6 per cent of shelf prices different from check-out prices in low-income areas; 8.6 per cent in higher income areas.

MAYFAIR (14 stores)

1.4 per cent of advertised items mispriced in low-income areas; 14.0 per cent in higher income areas.

6.4 per cent of advertised specials unavailable in low-income areas; 6.6 per cent in higher income areas.

4.2 per cent of shelf prices different from check-out prices in low-income areas; 4.5 per cent in higher income areas.

PURITY (10 stores)

5.2 per cent of advertised specials unavailable in low-income areas; 2.6 per cent in higher income areas.

23.1 per cent of shelf prices different from check-out prices in low-income areas; 15.8 per cent in higher income areas.

(Data were not available for mispricing on advertised items in Safeway and Purity stores since they did not re-mark their prices on specials and depended on checkout clerks to charge the special prices.)

The FTC concluded that competition of food marketing falters in low-income areas. Few supermarkets serve these areas. These stores do not compete as vigorously as the more numerous ones in prosperous suburbs.

Buildings are older and not as clean; produce is limper and top-quality meat less available. Price wars, when shoppers can get a break, are less frequent. And the $1,000 jackpot prices for supermarket games are planted in more desirable sales areas.

Food chains hesitate to open more stores in poor areas because of the high cost and scarcity of land, the high cost of money, the difficulty in obtaining insurance, the high pilferage rate, the slow turnover of goods and the vulnerability of food stores to riot damage.

The FTC recommends that redevelopment agencies, by providing large lots of low-cost land, encourage competing chains to serve low-income shoppers.

At Hunters Point, Fillmore and the Acorn and Oak Centers, however, developers have found no willing food market investors. Clearly, land is not enough. Lower interest rates would help; so would a tax break and subsidized insurance against theft, fire and riot. But domestic projects must compete with military and space expenditures and federal budget cuts.

Without assurance of a profitable return on their investment, food chains will not build, and poor people will shop in undercompetitive, high-priced supermarkets.

THE END

Consumer News briefs

• The Association of California Consumers is planning a big consumer meeting in San Francisco this month or October. Executive Director Sylvia Siegel is angling for Ralph Nader as a guest speaker. Details from her at 3030 Bridgeway, Sausalito (332-3667).

• Next round of the PG&E hearings opens at 9:30 A.M. Sept. 15, at the Public Utilities Commission Courtroom, 350 McAllister St., San Francisco.

• Opening shots over the Uniform Consumer Credit Code will be fired around Sept. 9 at hearings by the joint Assembly Committees on Judiciary and Finance & Insurance. The ACC is lining up some expert economists to speak on behalf of the public.

• ACC will also take up the cudgels at the Interstate Commerce Commission's hearings on the moving industry. If you've been robbed, cheated, disillusioned or damaged while in transit, ACC would like to hear from you.

Watchdog

—continued from page 5

cannot be called a wholehearted exponent of the proletarian view. He seems more interested in other projects, and limits himself to an occasional curt dissent from particularly squalid Commission rulings.

Reagan's first commission appointments held the bourgeois view. For example, William Symons, Jr., whose perspectives sometimes seem bounded by the disinfectant troughs at his Bishop cattle ranch, nevertheless voted with the three-man majority in the San Jose merchant's dispute with Pacific Telephone.

The other, Fred P. Morrissey, a paid PT & T tax consultant before his appointment, earned a reputation on the Commission as its best brain and hardest worker. He got a black mark for his campaign to undermine an established principle of Pacific Telephone regulation known as the "Western Electric adjustment."

In this situation, a page of law weighed more than a volume of history. The problem was acute: a utility is entitled by law to collect its expenses from the ratepayers. But many of Pacific Telephone's expenses are payments to Western Electric, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Bell System. As a manufacturing company, WE is not regulated, so it can charge Pacific all that the traffic will bear -- and the consumers have to pay.

The PUC simply ruled that, for rate-making purposes, WE would not be allowed to charge prices to Pacific that would earn it a higher rate of return than Pacific was earning.

Morrissey didn't like the rule, and proposed it be reconsidered, in an investigation still in progress. But it should be said, to his credit, that he kept an open mind, and shortly before his recent resignation from the PUC seemed to be swinging more in favor of the "Western Electric adjustment."

Later Reagan appointments to the PUC subscribe to the sleeping-watchdog theory. J.P. Vukasin, Jr., a toady to the utilities, probably serves the public best when he stays away from the Commission offices and works at his Oakland law practice, which he usually does.

In a recent rate case involving the General Telephone company, the Commission majority granted a partial rate increase, but withheld the rest because General's service was considerably sub-standard. Vukasin disagreed, and wrote a dissenting opinion that could have been written by a telephone company lawyer, larded as it was with corporate obsequies for the "prerogatives of management."

Commissioner Thomas Moran, a San Diego attorney appointed at the same time as Vukasin, has been voting with him. In a recent speech in Coronado, he attacked the Supreme Court's recent decision in the El Paso natural gas case, former Commissioner Bill Bennett's biggest legal victory.

The decision, said Moran, was a "freak-out."

Finally, Commissioner Vernon Sturgeon, replacing Morrissey, has only just come onto the Commission. Significantly, he has worked as Reagan's legislative secretary Sacramento -- political errand-boy. Formerly, he was a Paso Robles milk distributor.

We may expect future PUC opinions similar to the recent stolid, depressing one upholding the cash deposit rule for utility service. If PG&E required a $500 deposit for persons without a credit rating to get service, the Commission would instantly strike it down. But a $20 deposit was ruled all right.

Evidently, the Commission cannot perceive there are people for whom $20 in a lump is as difficult to obtain as $500.

And the SDS radicals didn't get the message across, either.

THE END

ARTISANS' BAZAAR



Designed
to introduce and publicize
all artisans--
painters, sculptors, photographers
leathercraft workers, potters,
weavers, jewelry makers, etc.

STITCHERY

by Mrs. Nason. The Needle's Eye.
2420 Clement St., S.F.
752-8215

POTTERY

by Waltraud Weber
77 Edgecroft. Kensington
524-8142

SCULPTURE

McDonald the Wood Sculptor—Associate of the Int. Inst. of Arts & Letters., 2547 - 33rd Ave., S.F. 564-3925

13th Tribe Workshop
Inst. Teddy Bear
517 Webster St., S.F. 861-9049

POSTERS

SF State & many others. see back of last Guardian: U.S.A.—
2814 - 25th St., S.F. 285-7161

by Rebecca Archey
421 - 30th St., Daly City
992-0953

Silk screen Op peace design. Day-Glo red. heavy rich ocre paper. 16x21". 75c Jack Davis. 999 Bush. S.F. 673-7144.

13th Tribe Workshop
John Woerner
517 Webster St., S.F. 861-9049

OCCULT BANNERS

quill & bead. clove & bead necklaces by Susan at East of the Sun
3850 - 23rd Street. S.F. 824-2571

CALLIGRAPHY

Handwritten books, wall decorations. honor awards. wedding invitations. etc. Theo Jung, 432 College. Palo Alto DA 8-1867

WEAVING

handwoven shawls. cloth sewn into clothing. rugs. etc. Anita Friedman. 848-6526. Berkeley.

PHOTOGRAPHY

the long & short of photography: portfolios. portraits or just for fun. Bob Silver. 282-3721.

Visualization at Will
Will Milne
1544 California. S.F. 474-8820

CANDLES

Handcrafted. Spectroscented & Alive by Steve D. Gross
425 - 23rd Ave., S.F. 386-1822

13th Tribe Workshop
by Teddy Bear & Dennis Smith
517 Webster St.. S.F. 861-9049

JEWELRY

handmade Indian & leather necklaces. bracelets & rings by Shelley—
931-7070 or Revolution—4079 - 18th St.

by Bob Jefferson
3054 Telegraph, Berkeley
848-1575

by Gerta Wingerd
261 Mather St., Oakland
653-7389

by Peter Macchiarini
1422 Grant Ave.. S.F.
YU 2-2229

w/semi & precious stones sculptured in gold.
Herb Dubin. Sausalito. 332-1328.

by Katia Kamesar
1942 Powell St.. San Francisco
421-2016

13th Tribe Workshop
Mona Ben Moshe Levi
3359 - 21st St., S.F. 826-0948

The Jewelry Shop of K. Darling
Highway No. 1, Point Reyes Station
663-1368
Gold, silver, amulets. custom work.

Handcrafted Provincial Arts
The Hobbit Mines, Big Sur, CA 93920
Specialists in Jade and Gold

GRAPHICS

by Heidi Endemann
63 Bolinas Rd.. Fairfax
456-4205

Graphic Design Unlimited
Can do anything. Frederic Crum
3023 Oak, S.F. 752-1378, bet. 4-6 p.m.

STAINED GLASS

peace pendants on leather thongs. Lovingly handcrafted. $3 postpaid. Don Rice. 1109 W. Vine, Mt. Vernon, Ohio 43050.

Windows. panels & constructions by David Arnold
1331 Kearny St., S.F. 392-3037

CROCHETING

Hand Crocheted garments made to order. Unusual designs—any size & color. Fay Jones. 362-8798.

Intricate hand crocheted garments Imported yarn - machine washable - men's & women's made to the individual. Sandy 661-9407

Artisans' FREE ADS!

1. Ads accepted only from individual artisans.

2. All ads must be in writing—no phone ads accepted. Maximum of 4 lines per ad—first line in caps.

3. Each ad run 4 times. No copy changes (with exception of phone or address) permitted. When requested, any ad will be continued for a second 4 times.

ON GUARD

S P's next run

The Friendly Southern Pacific is once again tooling up for a run at the regulatory agencies. The City of San Francisco, sole survivor of the San Francisco-Ogden-Omaha-Chicago run, is now on its last turntable.

Beginning Oct. 6, the Interstate Commerce Commission will hold hearings here in the Federal Building on SP's application to reduce transcontinental service from daily to tri-weekly.

If ICC commissioners have done their homework, they will recall a similar case involving SP's Shasta Daylight which ran between the Bay Area and Portland, daily, from 1949 until 1959. The ICC in 1959 approved a request to run the train on a tri-weekly basis, except during the summer months when the Shasta Daylight resumed daily operation.

The result: a 42 per cent decline in patronage.

Predictably, SP then asked to discontinue the train altogether, except during the summer. The ICC complied and summer-only service was in effect from 1964 through 1966.

Still not satisfied, in a notorious "grand finale," SP defied orders from the public utilities commissions of both California and Oregon and abruptly discontinued the Shasta Daylight in 1967 without formal public notice or hearing. (It was an interstate train, but the ICC mysteriously refused to enter the dispute.)

SP, we feel, is counting on a repeat performance. A rail passenger survey questionnaire, recently presented to patrons on the City of San Francisco, asked significant questions: "Would your travel plans have permitted you to leave a day earlier or a day later? If you answered 'No' . . . would you have traveled by: Air? Bus? Automobile? A train on another railroad? Or would you have cancelled the trip entirely?

Note: Western Pacific seeks to discontinue its California Zephyr -- the "unique national asset" (in the ICC's own words) connecting Oakland, Salt Lake City, Denver and Chicago. However, unlike Southern Pacific, WP and the two other railroads operating the train (the Rio Grande and Burlington lines) have vigorously advertised and promoted their flagship with an aggressive publicity department using all news media.

SP has not even tried to upgrade and promote its "national disgrace" on the Overland Route to Chicago? Daily, tri-weekly or fortnightly, in its present condition the train casts nothing but shame on its namesake, the City of St. Francis.

Will Jake get caught?

Maybe Jake Ehrlich will get caught this time.

He announced the Police Officers Association's "unalterable opposition" to the police charter revision referendum. The next day two members of the rival Officers for Justice, when asked about the POA's opposition, smiled.

"We're going to make fools of them," one said.

It may not be difficult.

The referendum, as proposed by the Supervisors, will grant several needed fringe benefits to policemen, among them time-and-a-half for overtime and a night pay differential. On the surface, the Ehrlich/POA opposition to this referendum makes as much sense as Walter Reuther fighting a pay hike at General Motors.

But when you fit it into the racist framework of the POA, it makes too much sense. The referendum is the first major political move of the black association and it would elevate OFJ's Rodney Williams, a black patrolman, to director of a somewhat strengthened police/community relations bureau.

These are bare, bare minimum moves, it seems to us, to attract good men of minority groups to the police force and give the few in uniform apparent, if not actual participation and power in the department.

If the referendum passes, OFJ would threaten POA's stranglehold over police politics, promotions and retirement jobs with the fun-loving Teamsters. This, Ehrlich and POA's hierarchy cannot abide.

But to keep the black association down, they must work against the welfare of every policeman in San Francisco.



The gravy train rolls on

"I have folded on every point so far," Lou Spadia, 49er president, was quoted as saying when the 30-year Candlestick Park lease was signed recently.

"This is the best contract any city in the State of California has gotten from a football team," said Walter R. Shorenstein, president of the park and recreation commission. "Mr. Spadia was screaming like heck for a while, but we finally got this thing worked out."

Still, after all these years, after Charles Harney and John Bolles and George Christopher, after $20 million tamped down a rathole in the wrong building, built in the wrong place, they're still keeping the amenities at Candlestick. (See May 14, 1968 Guardian)

Spadia, if you will recall, is the chap who floated out the gaudy rumor that the 49ers soon would be moving to San Jose if Candlestick weren't completely refurbished to their spiffy specifications. He was about as ready to move to San Jose as Ron Fimrite is to Canton, Ohio.

But he and the Giants' management, convinced city hall of the necessity for the "new" $9 million Candlestick--with artifical turf, permanent outfield seats to increase seating capacity to around 60,000 and wind barriers which would according to Larry Dum's Chronicle account, "aid chilly fans at night and reduce complaints by athletes."

Why the need for 60,000 seats? Giant and 49er attendance have both been down for years. As we went to press on Sept. 16, the Giants defeated Atlanta before a pitiful Candlestick total of 5,194 fans in the midst of a crackling pennant drive.

The 30 year pact calls for 10 per cent of the gate to go to the city for park rental. This is peanuts, birdseed, considering how the gates are going. More: the city still pays $360,000 a year or so in bond payments on Candlestick's original indebtedness. It will now pay another huge chunk, elevating the total annual subsidy, as Supervisor Jack Morrison calculates it, to about $800,000.

The original loss was to be made up by the city commanding the juicy television rights, but then Mayor Christopher arranged for them to go exclusively to the Giants. Again, in the 49er contract, no television revenue for the city.

John Bolles, the architect who messed up the stadium in the first place, is back on the job to patch things up.

The question: why must the city repair a 10-year-old ballpark? Why must the city subsidize multi-million dollar sports corporations at $800,000 a year? Why must it do these things when there isn't money enough, say, to save the view from Mt. Olympus for $150,000 or put the projects in the annual Hunters Point bond issue into the city's capital improvements program?

The Lincoln Steffens Award

Goes to the San Francisco Chronicle for its coverage of the Alioto/Mafia story.

ITEM: The Chronicle starts a loud and noisy investigation into Alioto's alleged Mafia contacts shortly after the mayor vetoes a juicy exemption from the city's gross receipts tax for the Chronicle/Examiner.

ITEM: Reporters Bill Thomas and Charles Raudebaugh work on the story for months, traveling extensively throughout the Bay Area and the state to talk to businessmen, law enforcement officers, underworld sources.

ITEM: Executive Editor Scott Newhall tells Alioto he will call his reporters off the story if Alioto will not veto the tax exemption the next time up. (See Bruce Brugmann's June 12 testimony on this point to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly and the July 10 Guardian.)

ITEM: "This allegation is totally false and is, without equivocation, an outright lie," Newhall telegrams the subcommittee. "First, I am totally unaware that any responsible story can demonstrate any unsavory gossip in connection with Mayor Alioto. Furthermore, Mayor Alioto has conducted the affairs of our city with dignity, courage and compassion.."

ITEM: Raudebaugh and Executive Editor Abe Mellinkoff go to the mayor's office to hear the tapes of the Carlson/Brisson interview of Alioto on the Look article.

ITEM: On Sept. 5, the Examiner breaks the Alioto story from an early copy of Look. The next day, the Chronicle carries the Alioto story, mostly Alioto's rebuttal and later, Alioto's statements saying both papers had investigated the Mafia charges and rejected them.

ITEM: On Sept. 10, without referring to its Thomas/Raudebaugh investigation, the Chronicle runs an editorial strongly backing Alioto and criticizing Look for insinuating "guilt by association." Later, about the time Look retains the Chronicle's law firm, Cooper, White and Cooper, for its local libel defense, the Chronicle runs a softer editorial admonishing Alioto to go slow on his charges against Gov. Reagan.

ITEM: On Sept. 15, Chronicle Managing Editor Gordon Pates edits out a 10-paragraph Jack Anderson story saying Hubert Humphrey dropped Alioto as a vice-presidential candidate because Alioto, as an attorney, had handled Mafia leaders as clients. (See Inside, p 4.)

ITEM: When was the Chronicle going to refer to or run the findings of the Thomas/Raudebaugh investigation--either to add to Look's article or "clear" Alioto or just shed some independent light? Said Mellinkoff: "Mr. Newhall has made a statement on that. I'll stand on Mr. Newhall's statement."

A profile of courage

SUPERVISOR ROGER BOAS, running hard for reelection. On the crucial 9-1 TransAmerica vote, Boas was off on a pack trip in the Sierra. Boas told The Guardian he had planned the trip for a year and that it had nothing to do with his vote.

Well, how would you have voted if you were there?

"Frankly, I'd rather duck that one."